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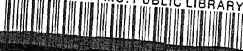


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RICHARD UPJOHN

ARCHITECT AND CHURCHMAN



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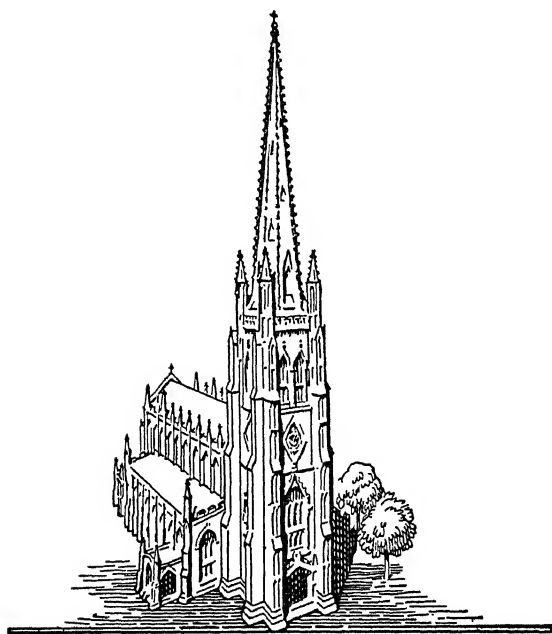
RICHARD UPJOHN

ARCHITECT AND CHURCHMAN

By EVERARD M. UPJOHN

ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF FINE ARTS

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY



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FOREWORD

AMERICANS are almost incorrigibly romantic in their architectural thought; it is a century-old habit. In Colonial days they naturally looked to the far-off Mother Country for models, and in the nineteenth century, of course, Europe supplied the paradigms, while the American works were thought of as more or less satisfactory reflections of a distant ideal. American architects shone only with a reflected glow. But in recent decades critics have come to see that there are many American works which are great in their own right. A number of our practitioners are taking enviable places, and they well merit scholarly study as technicians of the first rank, creators of an architecture essentially American. Sullivan comes instantly to mind—inspired apostle, in the early nineties, of that functionalism which runs like a refrain through American architecture from its first beginnings. Richardson too has come into his own. The key to understanding him is a comprehension of his uncanny originality in reading the lessons of the historic styles and making new creations of his own, using diverse traditional elements in a functional manner of unusual power. For example, in his famous design for the Allegheny County buildings at Pittsburgh he was able to join Norman Romanesque towers, German rounded turrets, and French pavilions roofed in Gothic fashion with sheer unadorned masonry and with functionally expressed brick and metal interior construction—all without loss of unity or consistency. He was able to create types in frame structure and communicate to them the noble qualities of his masonry style. Thus Richardson is a notable point of focus or synthesis in the kaleidoscopic nineteenth-century Battle of Styles.

Richard Upjohn, subject of the book which is before us, had his part in creating that kaleidoscope in America, as we all know; but he is a figure of larger significance and is more fully representative of his age than we commonly realize. In his earliest work the

stripped or reduced Classic (so much akin to modern functional design) and the more imitative phase of the Neoclassic are both present. Beginning as an exponent of the castellated style, he became famous for Trinity Church in New York, perhaps the earliest, and certainly one of the most satisfactory, examples of the strict Gothic Revival in America; yet he also addressed himself to the problem of making a vernacular Gothic for the village Robert de Coucys who succeeded our rustic Ictinuses, and thus made a genuine contribution to our quaint American Folk-Gothic. His attitude toward Gothic as an ecclesiastical style and Renaissance as a civic style dominated for several generations. Upjohn's essays in Romanesque were a part of the movement which prepared the way for Richardson. Bold and freely composed, his villa-houses are a picturesque early episode in the struggle for functional expression and so contribute in another way to the background of Richardson and Sullivan. Upjohn had in his capable hands many of the strands which were united by Richardson and so beautifully taken forward by our first moderns. We honor in him a thoughtful and versatile man who was a vital figure in our period of eclecticism. The whole profession is in his debt as a founder of the American Institute of Architects.

My sincere hope is that Everard Upjohn's sympathetic account of his great forebear's work will call to the attention of many the significance which it has as a part of our national heritage. There has already been a heavy toll of the buildings in which the architectural history of the last century was written—sometimes the result of catastrophe; but far too often a building which was a part of our common artistic birthright has been swept away just for dollars, perhaps with no consciousness of the loss inflicted. The remedy is a wider knowledge of the works of our great creative spirits and a fuller appreciation of the gifts which they have left behind them for the commonwealth of art-lovers everywhere.

KENNETH CONANT

Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts
August, 1938

PREFACE

ONE HUNDRED years ago next March Richard Upjohn was called from Boston to New York to advise Trinity Church on certain repairs which were then imminent. Out of this task came the most famous of his commissions, one whose success brought to the architect the largest ecclesiastical, if not also the largest general, practice in the country.

For a well-known architectural critic to describe Richard Upjohn's reputation as resting on a single building, Trinity Church, was not unjustified. But that belief, so widely held, is due to our ignorance of the course of American architecture from 1830 to 1870. Before and after those years much patient and fruitful investigation has been carried out by a number of scholars.

In approaching this completely unexplored middle period of American architecture, two methods suggest themselves. The first, that of a general survey dealing with types and characteristics, has much of value. But I believe that the time is not yet ripe for such a work. Until definitive biographical studies have been made of at least the more important men and their major works made available through publication, until the precise factual material relating to significant buildings has been unearthed, any general summaries are bound to be tentative and inconclusive.

Therefore, I have dealt purely with the life and work of Richard Upjohn, the most important figure in American architecture between Jefferson and Richardson. His influence on architecture and on the profession was immense. My theme is to present a reasonably comprehensive picture of the man and his architecture. Obviously this involves a most stringent selection from the corpus of material and offers the opportunity frequently to allow the nineteenth century to speak for itself.

For the scholar and the antiquarian I include in the Appendix a catalogue of his commissions. It is useless to pretend that I have

investigated separately, or even visited, each of these jobs. Many are clearly unimportant and would add nothing to our knowledge either of the man or of American architecture. Nevertheless, such a list seems valuable to afford later scholars whatever clues and evidence have been collected. Richard Upjohn was a methodical individual with a marked tendency to preserve his material intact. Although time has destroyed some, a vast amount of original data still exists, in the form of letters to the architect from his various clients and of original drawings. Almost all that material is still in the possession of the family. It is on the basis of this evidence, amplified by independent investigations of many of his more important works, that this volume has been written.

Particular acknowledgment is due to his grandson—my father, Hobart B. Upjohn—who still worthily continues in a modern fashion the tradition established by his famous ancestor. Without his constant enthusiasm and assistance over a period of years, the labor of producing this book would have been far more arduous. To him is due much of the credit for preserving intact the documentary material, in so far as it has come into his possession. His many hours spent in reading over the correspondence, in collecting biographical data, and sometimes in communicating with the rectors of Upjohn churches have proved invaluable. Still more necessary was his help and advice in gathering the illustrative material. He has an instinct for getting photographs of buildings before their destruction, such as Dr. Potts's Presbyterian Church and the Madison Square Presbyterian Church in New York—to mention only two among many.

Thanks must also be given to the rectors of the many parishes which boast Upjohn churches. One cannot mention each by name; they are too numerous. Suffice it to say that almost all who have been approached have been most cordial in throwing open their records, in corroborating facts gathered from other sources in regard to their buildings, and occasionally in supplying illustrative material where that was lacking. I am indebted to the following publishers for courtesy in permitting quotation: Dodd, Mead & Company, New York—*The Diary of Philip Hone*, edited by Allan Nevins; Yale University Press, New Haven—Nathaniel

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Hawthorne, *The American Notebooks*, edited by Randall Stewart. Finally I must express, however inadequately, my appreciation of the labors of Professor William B. Dinsmoor, Mr. Talbot Hamlin, and Professor Kenneth J. Conant for reading the manuscript and offering their most valuable constructive criticisms and to Columbia University and the American Council of Learned Societies for making its publication possible.

EVERARD M. UPJOHN

Columbia University
in the City of New York
August 11, 1938

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RICHARD UPJOHN

ARCHITECT AND CHURCHMAN

. 1 .

INTRODUCTION

UPJOHN and his Victorian Gothic are dead." This remark by a famous architect typifies the attitude of educated people early in the present century. For better or worse, the galaxy of architects of the World's Columbian Exposition swept away the vagaries of the late nineteenth century. About the same time Cram, Goodhue, and Ferguson and others revitalized church architecture. After the kaleidoscopic mingling of styles before them, both the modernized classic of McKim, Mead, and White and the purer Gothic of Goodhue were as a breath of fresh sea air.

How much photography furthered this change is a problem beyond the scope of the present work. The early numbers of the *American Architect* illustrate buildings by line engravings, hard in quality, which fail to convey any impression of the freehand charm of older work. During the eighties more photographs appeared and gradually replaced engraving as a means of illustration.

Moreover, the newer generation of architects were considerably more familiar at first hand with European architecture than their predecessors had been. Although the architects who led the profession immediately after the Civil War had sometimes been abroad, as a rule their travels were not extensive. Few of them enjoyed the advantage of foreign training. Their information, therefore, as to the work of the past was drawn, at best, from more or less vague memories or from reproductions only. Naturally, with such a meager basis, they were forced into an originality which too often degenerated into mere novelty, though notable exceptions occur in Richardson and Sullivan, both of whom had studied abroad.

We need not here inquire how just was the contempt toward

Victorian work, but it is essential to realize that the term can properly apply only to that heterogeneous group of styles which flourished after the Civil War. To make the expression comprise all the architecture within the long reign of Victoria muddles the understanding of nineteenth-century architecture. But if its meaning is so restricted, it cannot describe the architecture of Richard Upjohn. That of his son, Richard Michell Upjohn, is undoubtedly Victorian, but the buildings which bear the characteristic imprint of the father's personality are strikingly free of bombast, straining for effect, and floridity.

Quite aside from the matter of purity in style, Richard Upjohn's sense of proportion excelled that of his son. His fervent belief inspires his churches with a finer religious note than that possessed by the later buildings of the firm. The relative position and importance of the two men is very different. The father must be regarded as the founder, in America, of the purer phase of the Gothic Revival. His only rival was James Renwick, whose ecclesiastical practice and influence were far less extensive. Richard Michell Upjohn is one of a group including Congdon, Haight, Potter, Richard M. Hunt (in his Gothic work), Vaux and Mould, and Ware and Van Brunt, to name only a few. Richard Upjohn was the recognized leader of the profession whose standards he did so much to raise. As such, he served for nineteen years as first president of the American Institute of Architects. Richard Michell Upjohn never received that honor and trust, though twice elected president of the New York Chapter of the Institute.

The Gothic Revival not only is a fascinating chapter in the history of taste but also has an importance as the direct ancestor of contemporary church and collegiate buildings in that style. Whether the movement judged as a whole is valuable is an aesthetic question which need not be discussed here. It stands or falls along with the whole field of eclecticism, that is, the more or less exact adaptation of past styles. If revivalism in general is bad in its ultimate effects, then almost all nineteenth-century work is bad, as well as that eclectic architecture which America in particular has produced in such quantities in the twentieth century. In this respect Trinity Church and the Cathedral of St. John the

Divine, New York, Girard College, Philadelphia, and the Lincoln Memorial, Washington, have the same fundamental basis. What is significant historically is the fact of revival, which forms an important chapter in the world's architecture.

This being the case, it seems desirable to glance at the earlier history of the Gothic Revival. Whether English Gothic was originally inspired from the French style or not, by the fifteenth century it had become thoroughly nationalized and the inevitable mode of architectural thought in England. The standard histories of English architecture regularly discover the Renaissance in the reign of Henry VIII (1509-47). One should observe, however, that the buildings which show the new style, adopt only details at first and that none but important structures are affected. Undoubtedly through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and very probably well on into the eighteenth, traditional methods of building, and even of design, survived in the country districts. Those charming English cottages with their thatched roofs, such as one sees in the Cotswold district, can seldom be accurately dated, but among them are surely many examples contemporary with the work of Inigo Jones or Christopher Wren—some perhaps still later. In all essentials these modest buildings continue the Gothic tradition.

In America the seventeenth-century Colonial, as in the Parson Capen house in Topsfield, is fundamentally Gothic. Here one finds a dependence on structure for effect, an asymmetrical disposition of the façade, not because of any preconceived desire for asymmetry as such, but rather because it is suggested by the requirements of the problem and by the complete absence of any Classic and formal details. Still more obvious is the medieval character of St. Luke's, Smithfield, Virginia, 1632. Though made of brick, the outside is buttressed, and somewhat impoverished brick tracery divides the window lights. About these structures is no trace of revival spirit. Simple builders carry on the traditions in which they were reared. They form the twilight of the architecture whose high noon had produced the cathedrals of Canterbury, Salisbury, and Gloucester.

The old style indeed was so strong that even the leading architects occasionally tried their hands at it. Trained as they were in the classic tradition, obviously their renderings would not show

the same Gothic spirit as the country architecture, but some examples are worth citing. While Inigo Jones was leading the profession, Perpendicular vaults were raised over the stair well in Christ Church, Oxford, 1640. He himself is said to have done a Gothic chapel at Lincoln's Inn in London, but this has been completely altered.

Christopher Wren undoubtedly worked in Gothic on occasion. Tom Tower, Christ Church, Oxford, continues the Perpendicular work of the lower stories and is lamentably out of scale with it. Three of his London churches have Gothic, of sorts, in them—St. Mary Aldermary and the towers of St. Michael's, Cornhill, and St. Dunstan's-in-the-East. In the first of these the style seems to have been stipulated by the client. The pinnacles of the second example are far too large, and the last adopts an emaciated version of the "Scottish Crown," which exists in a fine medieval handling at Newcastle-on-Tyne. In justice to Wren, one should observe that the defects of Tom Tower and of St. Michael's may be partly due to restoration.¹

Wren was not sympathetic with the Gothic, nor did he well understand it. In fact, at the height of the seventeenth century it would be surprising if he had. The western towers of Westminster Abbey, variously ascribed to Wren, Hawksmoor, and James, have some interest as early eighteenth-century versions of the style. An unexpected medieval mass in Vanbrugh's architecture has been observed by Kenneth Clark. His "castellated" style may be seen in Vanbrugh Castle and less markedly in Claremont Belvedere.

These and other similar structures Kenneth Clark dubbed Gothic Survival in contrast to the later Gothic Revival. With the exception of Vanbrugh's feeling for medieval mass in some otherwise Classic buildings, these architects worked in Gothic under protest, as it were, due to pressure of local conditions, despising the style in which for the moment they were compelled to design. One can consider these buildings by the major architects as no more than sporadic eddies, hardly affecting the prevailing architectural current of the time.

The first, or faddish, stage of the Gothic Revival begins slightly

¹ W. Douglas Caröe, *Tom Tower, Christ Church, Oxford*, *passim*.

before the middle of the eighteenth century. Antiquarian enthusiasm colored the movement strongly at the beginning, though this interest had appeared much earlier. The first volume of that great compendium, the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, by William Dugdale and Roger Dodsworth, was published in 1655. Shortly afterward Dugdale produced his *History of St. Paul's Cathedral*, 1658, only eight years before the destruction of the venerable pile in the great fire of London. Although the antiquarian interest of the seventeenth century wore thin during the second quarter of the eighteenth century, it never completely disappeared. From time to time it cropped out in the pages of the *Gentleman's Magazine*. It reappears in 1762 with Perry's *Series of English Medals*, which contains an attempt to classify English tracery. James Benthham published *The History and Antiquities of the Conventual and Cathedral Church of Ely: From the Foundation of the Monastery, A. D. 673, to the Year 1771*. Beginning in 1773, Grose issued his *Antiquities of England and Wales*. From then on a steady stream of antiquarian or Gothic Revival literature testifies to the steadily waxing concern with the art of the Middle Ages. These books naturally caused medieval inspiration to a greater or lesser degree.

A still more important and curious work is *Gothic Architecture, Improved by Rules and Proportions*, etc., by the Langleys. The title is unfortunate. It naturally leads the reader to assume that Gothic was to be buttoned into a Classic straight waistcoat. But in the first two plates and in the preface of the *Ancient Architecture*²

² *Ancient Architecture, Restored, and Improved, by a Great Variety of Grand and Usefull Designs, Entirely New in the Gothick Mode, for the Ornamenting of Buildings and Gardens*, by Batty Langley and Thomas Langley, London, 1742. A copy of the *Gothic Architecture* is preserved in the Avery Library of Columbia University and bears the date 1747 on the title page. This copy has no preface. Kenneth Clark, in *The Gothic Revival*, p. 57, dates the *Gothic Architecture* in 1742 and quotes from its preface. Eastlake also dates it in the same year but says that the British Museum copy has no preface, which, he adds, probably appeared later. The plates of the *Ancient Architecture* and the *Gothic Architecture* seem to be identical and are dated 1741 and 1742. The preface of the *Ancient Architecture* has some trifling differences in wording from that of the *Gothic Architecture* and appears to be the earlier of the two, notwithstanding both bear the date 1742. In the *Ancient Architecture* day and

Batty Langley shows that his intention was not to impose, but to discover, the rules of Gothic. He divides the piers of Westminster into modules as he might have divided a Doric column. In this attempt there is little to condemn, an effort inevitable at a time when the universal law was being sought in everything. It is when he departs from analysis to create "orders" and to apply them in designs that one sees how little he really knows about Gothic, how completely he has missed all that is important in the style. We read in the preface, "I, therefore, for upwards of twenty Years . . . have assiduously employed myself, as Opportunities have happen'd, in making Researches into many of the most ancient Buildings, now standing in this Kingdom." One suspects that these opportunities must have been few and that his singular compositions are the result of ignorance. After all, his work came long before any serious medieval archaeology, such as that to be supplied later by Britton, Pugin, and others.

In its early stages the Gothic Revival was no more serious than the concurrent "Chinese taste." Apparently the pure Georgian with its dignity, formality, and regularity palled upon people; their jaded tastes craved something exotic and thrilling. The very term "Gothick taste," by which the movement was at first described, indicates its superficial character. Handbooks of the time bear such inscriptions as "Designs executed in the Greek, Roman, Etruscan, Persian, French, Gothic, or Moorish tastes." Or, though less versatile, we find this engaging title: *Grotesque Architecture, or Rural Amusement; Consisting of Plans, Elevations, and Sections, for Huts, Retreats, Summer and Winter Hermitages, Terminaries, Chinese, Gothic, and Natural Grottos, Cascades, Baths, Mosques, Moresque Pavilions, Grotesque and Rustic Seats, Green Houses, &c.*,

month are given in addition to the year; in the *Gothic Architecture* the year only is recorded. Is it not possible that the first edition bearing the *Gothic Architecture* title appeared only in 1747, using the plates of the *Ancient Architecture*, and that the preface with slightly changed wording was added to the *Gothic Architecture* in a still later printing? The writer has not had the opportunity personally to examine the copy in the British Museum. The matter seems to be of very slight importance, since both plates and preface undoubtedly appeared in 1742.

Many of Which May Be Executed with Flints, Irregular Stones, Rude Branches, and Roots of Trees, by William Wrighte, architect.³

The new movement was a fad, interwoven with the rise of Romanticism, of which indeed it formed the primary architectural expression. The nostalgic yearning for the remote in time or place, envisioned as an epitome of romance, forms one root of this phenomenon; another is the new enthusiasm for nature, partly a revulsion from the excessive formality of the time. The former gave birth to the Gothic novel, such as *The Castle of Otranto*, especially pertinent since written by Walpole, the builder of Strawberry Hill. That weird tale with its current of the miraculous and its somber tones titillated the reader's sense of terror and of welcome melancholy, which at heart he knew was simulated.

If we recognize the affectation which starts the Gothic Revival, its first fruits will be more readily comprehensible. Though a few structures were planned for serious use, many of its earlier products are admittedly pretense, or at most intended for gardens. Batty Langley conceived "An Umbrello for the Centre or Intersection of Walks, in Woods, Wilderness's &c."⁴ In fact, one-fourth of his plates pertain solely to landscape architecture, while many others are at least as applicable in that field as in buildings designed more directly for utility. *Tempietti* and summerhouses play as large a role in the revival of Gothic as in the revival of Classic architecture; the first edifices influenced by Greek architecture are garden ornaments.

The sham nature of these works is made obvious in contemporary literature. William Mason, in *The English Garden*, tells of Alcander's intentions to add delight to practicality.

"Draw we round yon knowl,"

Alcander cry'd, "in stately Norman mode,
A wall embattled; and within its guard
Let every structure needful for a Farm
Arise in Castle-semblance; the huge Barn

³ Title of 1790 edition. See also Katharine A. Esdaile, "The Small House and Its Amenities in the Architectural Hand-Books of 1749-1827," in *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, XV (1918), 123.

⁴ Batty Langley and Thomas Langley, *Ancient Architecture*, Plate LV.

Shall with a mock Portcullis arm the gate,
 Where Ceres entering, o'er the flail-proof floor
 In golden triumph rides; some Tower rotund
 Shall to the Pigeons and their callow young
 Safe roost afford; and ev'ry buttress broad,
 Whose proud projection seems a mass of stone,
 Give space to stall the heifer, and the steed.
 So shall each part, tho' turn'd to rural use,
 Deceive the eye with those bold feudal forms
 That Fancy loves to gaze on."⁵

Horace Walpole expressed his interest in Gothic verbally in *The Castle of Otranto*. He earlier gave it more tangible and perhaps more influential form in the rebuilding of Strawberry Hill, about 1752. In this amusement he was assisted, at times, by Bentley. Of Gothic detail applied in a Georgian manner much remains. Many of the chimney pieces offer only a lip loyalty to the style from which they derive; no true medieval builder would recognize them. Walpole's writings betray his consciousness of this. Coupled with his desire to retain the comforts of eighteenth-century architecture and with his failure to grasp the importance of materials to the Gothic style, this flippancy links his house to rococo Gothic.

But Walpole was also something of an antiquarian, and his trick of choosing some genuine Gothic example as a direct model foretells a stricter phase of the revival. The adaptation of Archbishop Warham's tomb at Canterbury for the fireplace in the Holbein room is a partial illustration of this, though Walpole admitted that the model was modified. The gallery vault is inspired more closely by that of the aisle in Henry VII's chapel in Westminster, though not executed in stone. Indeed, the various vaults at Strawberry Hill are created in plaster or papier mâché. The influence of Walpole's work lies in his pedantic sallies into the volume of older styles and in the social prestige which his position gave to the revival.

James Wyatt is a somewhat transitional figure between the first and second parts of our movement. He has been subjected to the bitterest condemnation and ridicule, only partly deserved.

⁵ William Mason, *The English Garden*, Book IV, lines 79-93.

Much obscurity exists as to the extent and character of his restorations, or "ruinations" as his successors called them. Though undoubtedly carried out with the scenic attitude of the eighteenth century, they were neither so extensive nor so vicious as generally supposed. He had a very real admiration, not unmixed with reverence, for the old structures which he was called upon to preserve.

Fonthill Abbey in many ways was Wyatt's most exciting design. Clark describes it as the "epitome of eighteenth-century Gothic." This preposterous but sublime concoction, summing up the period's desire for Gothic as stage setting, had little of true medieval about it in construction or design. The plan totally denied the Gothic relationship of design to purpose but fulfilled admirably the aims of mock ruins. Really built as a background to the histrionic melancholy of its first owner, William Beckford, it had the same unreality as his dreams. If one accepts the legendary character of Fonthill, one may forget the uselessness of that great western hall, whose height is fitted to a cathedral and whose stairs would serve a railroad station. Fonthill was in essence a work of the imagination and no more.

Two points should be noticed about these early examples. First, they are, for the most part, in Perpendicular rather than in the earlier and so-called purer periods of English Gothic. The popularity of this style lasts, almost uninterrupted, until about 1840. Secondly, although we think of the Gothic as primarily ecclesiastical, all the important early buildings in this manner were domestic.

Eighteenth-century Gothic had its provincial reflections on this side of the Atlantic. In the Federal Street Church, completed by Charles Bulfinch in 1809, the meetinghouse arrangement was retained without significant change. A high pulpit still occupied the center; galleries lined the sides of the edifice, which was hall-like in volume; and there was no chancel. One recognized a Gothic detail here and there. Clustered piers replaced the normal Classic column; windows were pointed, as was the arch behind the pulpit; and on either side ogee curves enframed the Tablets of the Law. The church changed its ribbons but nothing more. Even in the spire, which made greater pretense at Gothic, one feels that it was

rather a change in dress than in the architect's point of view. These no more modified the prevailing mode than did the Chinese and Gothic temples in the gardens of eighteenth-century England or those that Jefferson planned at Monticello.

The older buildings of Trinity Church, New York, belong in this same class. Though the first church was round-arched, at least after its alteration in 1737, the east windows contained debased tracery, and a modest apse terminating the nave provided just a touch of Gothic feeling, as did the plain spire. The second church, built in 1788-90 but replaced by the present edifice in 1839, had slightly more of the Gothic about it, though even here the meeting-house type dictated its mass and arrangement. Pointed windows replaced the round arches, a traceried parapet crowned the tower walls, and in front a semicircular porch supported by slender shafts, ringed at third points by mouldings, reminded one of Batty Langley.

St. Luke's, Rochester, 1824-26, is somewhat more elaborate. Here is more parade of Gothic elements, both within and without, but very little increase in Gothic feeling. The galleries and central pulpit gain significance since they occur in a Protestant Episcopal church just eleven years (the east end was lengthened two bays in 1828) before Trinity Church, New York. The furniture appears to be of a later period. Piers, which bear some relation to Batty Langley, support a four-centered barrel vault with penetrations.

Lastly, Bishop John Henry Hopkins in 1836 produced his *Essay on Gothic Architecture*, a most illuminating work on the condition of the style in this country at that time. Finding it impossible to get adequate architectural advice in the near-frontier town of Pittsburgh in 1823, Bishop Hopkins was forced to be his own architect for Trinity Church. He borrowed engravings of some English cathedrals and a copy of Britton—though one feels that he might have benefited more than he did from these sources. His only really Gothic plates are those representing the old work. Like his derivation of the Gothic from the Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem, his own designs show a sentimental adherence to the style as church decoration, which hardly affects the plan, mass, or spatial composition of the structure.

Nowhere in these drawings do we find a deep chancel; galleries are still retained; the altar cowers below the pulpit; the patterned ceiling gives a strange impression of the Adam style gone Gothic. It would be unfair to the venerable churchman to condemn too harshly the lack of scale or the absence of satisfactory composition and proportions. Bishop Hopkins did not claim to be a trained architect and said quite frankly that he dabbled in building only because of the lack of available architectural talent. Evidently his work was approved. A frequent application to him for other designs, in fact, caused him to publish the small volume.

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But enough of this first phase of the movement. The sentimental yearning for the past which played so important a role at the beginning was gradually metamorphosed by identifying the style with Christianity. A Quest-of-the-Holy-Grail attitude replaced one of playful frivolity. It is hard for us to understand the fervor with which such a man as Pugin regarded Gothic. To him it contained the essence of all that was good in life, and the period that produced it was one of transcendent purity and virtue. That such a view might not be accurate historically mattered little. What occurred in the thirteenth century had less influence than what men believed about it. Pugin's *Contrasts* show his love of the past, his disgust with the present.

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The bitterness toward Classic and Renaissance architecture shown by Pugin (and to some extent by Ruskin) both corresponds to and results from a revival within the church. In Pugin's case this led to his becoming a Roman Catholic, as it did in the more famous instance of Cardinal Newman. Renewal of faith within the Anglican Church was certainly necessary by the end of the eighteenth century. A dreadful apathy had fallen on the established Church, manifesting itself in an appalling lack of reverence and an indifference to the state of the Church. When the nave of St. Paul's Cathedral could become Paul's Walk, a general public thoroughfare and meeting place, it was surely time for a second Purification of the Temple. Communicants on Easter Sunday in St. Paul's dwindled in 1800 to six.⁶

⁶ Desmond Morse-Boycott, *The Secret Story of the Oxford Movement*, p. 18.

Such an attitude was bound to be reflected in the cheapness and utilitarian appearance of churches, which also show the extravagant fear of popery that had been inherited from seventeenth-century Puritanism and ultimately from the anxious years of the establishment of the Anglican Church during the sixteenth. The greater space necessitated by pews may account for the adoption of galleries in many aisled churches by Wren and his Georgian successors. A lessening of sacramental worship, or its replacement by preaching, accounts for the subordination of the altar to the pulpit, the former shrinking to little more than a table, as in churches of the dissenters. In this minimizing of the sacrament and avoidance of anything smacking even remotely of symbolism, the fear of Catholicism is manifest. Those things were indissolubly associated in the popular mind with Rome.

Those squalid, mushroom towns stigmatized in Pugin's *Contrasts* doubtless stimulated the desire for a stronger faith as a spiritual escape. In any case, a revival of interest in the Church clearly manifested itself in the Oxford movement. This began in 1833, when John Keble preached his famous sermon on "National Apostasy." In general, the men concerned with this matter adopted High Church views as opposed to the Low Church attitude which marked and marred the eighteenth century. In other words, they insisted upon the direct development of the Anglican Church from original Christianity, episcopacy, the importance of the sacrament, and that brilliant ceremonial typical of the Church during the Middle Ages. The last in particular affected architecture, since Gothic churches were designed to house a ritualistic service.

Although merely implied in the Oxford movement, the revival of medieval religious art and customs was one of the avowed aims of the Cambridge Camden Society. Founded in May, 1839, it freely criticized and advised on church design and furniture, throwing its influence on the side of strict following of medieval precedent. The dilettante "Gothick taste," already undermined by archaeology, succumbed entirely to this impact.

Like the early work, the developed Gothic Revival has its own literature which plays an important role. This stricter phase is the direct outcome of the painstaking and accurate, if somewhat dry,

scholarship of such men as Rickman and Britton. Their detailed plates provided architects with an abundance of material, more nearly comparable to that at the disposal of Classic Revival architects than that possessed by the first workers in the style. Moreover, Rickman's *Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of English Architecture*, 1819, provided the first satisfactory and definitive answer to that problem and emphasized the fact that the Middle Ages in England had produced not one distinct style, but several, varying as widely from each other as the Adam manner from that of Christopher Wren.

More than anyone else, John Britton is responsible for ending rococo Gothic. In 1800 his *Beauties of Wiltshire* was published, followed by the eighteen volumes of the *Beauties of England and Wales* appearing intermittently until 1816. Of a somewhat popular nature, the illustrations lack that detail which could make them of real value to architectural students. On the other hand, *The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain*, 1805-14, is remarkable for the accurate engravings by Le Keux, especially those made from Mackenzie's drawings. Not only does it include examples of military, domestic, and monastic buildings as well as churches, but it provides the necessary plans and sections without which a full understanding of the structures can hardly be achieved. And finally, *The Cathedral Antiquities of Great Britain*, 1814-35, again is characterized by accuracy and completeness. With these so readily available and so widely known to laymen and architects alike, the quaint and amusing vagaries of Georgian Gothic could not survive. The Gothic Revival assumed a more serious tone.

Of still greater importance was the *Specimens of Gothic Architecture*, 1821, by Augustus Pugin and E. J. Willson. Pugin, himself an architect, appreciated professional needs. Rickman and Britton might convey to the layman an adequate idea of the development and charm of medieval styles, but before much serious work could be done, accurately drawn details had to be available. Pugin filled exactly this want. His plates depict plans, piers, doors and windows, tracery, and mouldings, of inestimable value to a designer who either wished or was compelled to work in the Gothic manner.

The changed attitude toward Gothic possibly dates from 1821.

Mention of the Gothic Revival in connection with literature at once calls to mind Scott and Ruskin. That the movement was part of Romanticism in general is undoubtedly true; so was the work of Sir Walter Scott. His importance in popularizing the Middle Ages, however, is often exaggerated. The dates of the Waverley novels themselves show that they can have nothing to do with the inception of the Revival. The earliest to appear was *Waverley*, 1814, and the first to be laid in the Middle Ages, *Ivanhoe*, 1820. Nevertheless, though inaccurate historically, they did invest the past with an air of romance. Ruskin is even further afield. His influence was tremendous, but its result was the third phase of the Revival, properly called Victorian Gothic. His enthusiasm for medieval architecture in Italy partly accounts for the mixture of styles which characterized that part of the movement and for the ill-judged polychromy which too frequently mars it.

The new scholarship of Britton and Pugin did not take long to make itself felt. Indeed, James Savage's design for St. Luke's, Chelsea, antedates the *Specimens of Gothic Architecture* by two years, though it was not completed until 1824. Eastlake justifiably condemns its proportions, its detail, its balconies, and above all its coldly mechanical character. It has not the same imagination as Fonthill, but still St. Luke's counterfeits a Gothic church as eighteenth-century buildings never did. At a distance one might be deceived. Though the symmetry is too exact, the mass and silhouette achieve something of Gothic. A Georgian pile hardly disguised by Gothic window forms has given way to a tower, nave, aisles, and clearstory.

Much the greatest name connected with the Gothic Revival is that of Sir Charles Barry. Curiously, he was himself more interested in Classic than in medieval. He really valued Italian Renaissance palaces more than Rouen Cathedral, but his most famous work, the Houses of Parliament, and several of his early churches are Gothic. St. Peter's, Brighton, 1826-28, has been praised by both Gilbert Scott and Eastlake, in each case, to be sure, with a touch of condescension in view of the date. They are, how-

ever, better grouped with the commissioners' churches than with the later mature work. Thin and wiry detail, plaster groinings, and especially the absence of ritualistic arrangements indicate that Barry still felt the inadvisability of real medieval planning and massing for the Low Church usage of his day.

The Houses of Parliament are the more astonishing in view of the insipidity of his early Gothic work. That they are the first marked triumph of the Gothic Revival is generally admitted. Probably the reason for their success lies in the fortunate collaboration of two men. Barry persuaded Augustus Northmore Welby Pugin, certainly the foremost Gothicist at that time, to help him; no doubt Pugin designed all that appears on the surface, the immensely rich, if somewhat monotonous and pedantic, detail. The lack of craftsmanship, which Pugin himself did so much to remedy, doubtless hampered him. On the other hand, the effectiveness of the buildings depends in small part on detail. This ensemble might be just another Gothic Revival work were it not for the really powerful mass and silhouette, the well-studied plan. These qualities come only from such professionally trained architects as Barry; their absence mars the work of the "Goths." Pugin alone could not have made this plan and admitted it quite openly.

The Houses of Parliament have not had the influence one would expect. The Revival chose another road. The contrast between mass and detail, the Perpendicular style which soon fell into disfavor as compared with the earlier phases of English Gothic, the symmetrical plan, and the Classic architect all worked against their popularity in the ensuing generation. Though they mark a turning point in the style, the Gothic Revival unfortunately rejected the Parliament buildings. They combine the clarity of planning of the Classic tradition, the picturesqueness of the early Revival, and the new scholarship in a most impressive, but isolated, monument. The position, indeed, is not dissimilar to that occupied by Trinity Church, New York, admittedly the most famous monument of the Gothic Revival in America, but withal somewhat exceptional. One need not further indicate the background of the Gothic Revival in England. Richard Upjohn could not have seen even the Houses of Parliament at first hand until his style was well formed.

. 2 .

BIRTH AND EARLY LIFE

FOR CENTURIES Shaftesbury had followed its destiny as market town and parliamentary borough for northern Dorset. It had prospered in this role, and, though never large in population judged by modern standards, it must have been wholly representative of the smaller English center. Its life had been little disturbed by the various political changes in England, save perhaps by the dissolution of the monasteries, for the Abbey had been one of the wealthiest in England. Indeed, it was said that if the Abbot of Glastonbury had married the Abbess of Shaftesbury their combined fortunes would have exceeded that of the king himself. It is not hard to see why the good men of Shaftesbury felt no need to ruffle their unhurried existence by allowing the railroad to come even close to the town. This new mode of conveyance they doubtless considered might, or might not, help the town financially but would surely bring dirt and noise.

They could not foresee that to be off the railroad would, in the future, mean becoming a little backwater. They saw with equanimity and perhaps satisfaction the tracks of the Great Western Railroad laid three miles away to the north. One cannot tell how greatly the town might have grown had the railroad come closer, but it is improbable that the same quiet picturesqueness would have been preserved. Here and there the visitor may find signs of the passage of years. This church has been renovated and that house new built, but the character of the town lies in its unpretentious old stone-fronted homes, decent, sturdy, and comfortable. To this day the town crier walks the streets, bell in hand, calling, "Lost, a five pound note; finder will be rewarded on returning it."

The Upjohn family had lived here for generations, though com-

ing originally from Wales. The name was anglicized from the Welsh Apjones or Apjon. Ultimately the family derived from the ancient Lords of Cardigan, its more immediate progenitor being Rhys Chwith, an Esquire to the body of King Edward.

The sons had followed their father's calling of surveyor. A map of Shaftesbury, dated October 20, 1799, drawn by William Upjohn and dedicated to Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, is still in the possession of the family. His brother James Upjohn was also a surveyor, though it is apparent from his card that the term was much more comprehensive at that time than it is today. The note at the bottom shows that James must have had a good deal of information in regard to practical building.

LANDS IN GENERAL

Surveyed, divided, and inclosed;

And on MAPS of the same will be seen at one View,

THE

Topographical appearance of the whole; together with the Quantity and (if required) the Quality present Value and particular of each Farm.

WITH

An exact particular, Value and Return of all the Timber Trees, Saplings &c. thereon; by JAMES UPJOHN, of SHAFTESBURY, in DORSETSHIRE.

N. B. Standing Timber Valued and Sold, Estimates of Buildings, Repairs, Dilapidations &c.

ESTATES Bought and Sold by Commission.

Clearly the duties of a surveyor at that time, as for centuries before, included many of the functions today handled by the architect. The famous, if somewhat shadowy, John Thorpe of Elizabethan days was a surveyor. Inigo Jones was surveyor to the Prince of Wales, 1610-12, and in 1614 to the king, and Wren himself was in 1669 appointed to the post of Surveyor General. It is obvious that in the case of at least the last two of these names the duties were primarily those which we describe as an architect's at the present day. It does not follow that the Upjohns were architects in our meaning of the term. To judge by his card, the architectural part of James's business was rather less important than the surveying proper, the estimating, and perhaps even subordinate to his activities as a real estate agent. His income from this source was amplified by a little

teaching on the side in the grammar school founded by a Mr. Lush, for which he had already had some experience in the Blue Coat School in London. He seems also to have been interested in music, performing reasonably well on the violin and the organ.

The second child of James Upjohn by Elizabeth Plantagenet Dryden Michell was born January 22, 1802, and was christened Richard. Although still a young woman, the mother had never been strong, and the strain of raising a family brought on consumption, which caused her death in the same year. James Upjohn had been devoted to his wife. Her loss preyed on his mind for years, and in 1808 he determined to try life in a new country. He accepted a position in a mercantile establishment in St. John's, Newfoundland. Nothing is known of this trip save its accomplishment, not even its duration; but one may speculate on the possible effect of this glimpse of the western world that young Richard received in his childhood. If his experience was pleasant, it may have helped draw him back or at least smoothed the path twenty years later when he had next to make the journey.

Having given him a liberal education, his family hoped that young Richard might choose to enter the ministry or one of the learned professions; his maternal grandfather had been a clergyman and there were several others in the family tree. The youth, however, enjoyed working with tools and showed at an early age that aptitude for drawing and mechanics which families love to recall after the person has become famous. Consequently the boy must have welcomed his apprenticeship to Richard Downs, cabinet-maker. The indenture is typical of that time.

THIS INDENTURE WITNESSETH THAT Richard Upjohn Son of James Upjohn of Shaftesbury in the County of Dorset Schoolmaster by and with the Consent of his said Father testified by his executing these Presents doth put himself APPRENTICE to Richard Downs of the Parish of the Holy Trinity in Shaftesbury aforesaid Cabinet Maker and Joiner to learn his Art and with him after the Manner of an Apprentice to serve from the Day of the Date hereof for by and during and unto the full End and Term of five Years from thence next following to be fully complete and ended. DURING which Term the said Apprentice his Master faithfully shall serve his secrets keep his lawful commands everywhere gladly do. He shall do no damage to his said Master nor see to be done of others but to his

Power shall tell or forthwith give warning to his said Master of the same. He shall not waste the Goods of his said Master nor lend them unlawfully to any. He shall not commit fornication nor contract Matrimony within the said term. He shall not play at Cards or Dice Tables or any other unlawful Games whereby his said Master may have any loss with his own goods or others during the said Term without Licence of his said Master. He shall neither buy nor sell. He shall not haunt Taverns or Playhouses nor absent himself from his said Master's service day or night unlawfully. But in all things as a faithful Apprentice he shall behave himself towards his said Master and all his during the said Term. AND the said Richard Downs for and in Consideration of the Sum of Ten pounds to be paid by the said James Upjohn on the twenty fourth Day of June next and the further Sum of Ten Pounds to be paid by him on the twenty fifth Day of December next doth covenant and agree that his said Apprentice in the Art of a Cabinetmaker and Joiner which he useth by the best means that he can shall teach and Instruct or cause to be taught and instructed paying unto the said Apprentice one shilling weekly and every week during the second and third Years of the said Term, two shillings per week for the fourth Year, and three shillings per week for the fifth and last Year of the said term. And the said James Upjohn doth hereby covenant promise and agree that he will find and provide for his said son sufficient Meat Drink Wearing Apparel Washing Mending Lodging and all other necessities during the said Term.

AND for the true performance of all and every the said Covenants and Agreements either of the said Parties bindeth himself unto the other by these Presents. IN WITNESS whereof the Parties above named to these Indentures interchangeably have put their Hands and Seals the tenth day of March and in the fifty ninth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the third by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND KING Defender of the Faith and in the Year of our LORD One Thousand Eight Hundred and nineteen.¹

R Upjohn
James Upjohn
Rich^d Downs

Payment of the stipulated sums is recorded on the back of the indenture, as well as that of the additional sum of ten pounds which may have been to cover the lad's living expenses.

Such training was of great value to a future architect, though that career probably had not occurred to him at this time. Certainly it was as applicable to his ultimate profession as the apprenticeship in the goldsmith's shop from which Brunelleschi and

¹ The original document is not punctuated or broken into sentences.

so many other Florentines turned to the major arts. Here he learned drawing, both freehand and mechanical. The use of tools and the inherent possibilities and limitations of at least some of the important building materials were impressed upon his mind not through books but by experience. Still more necessary was the training to visualize objects in three dimensions. He probably also learned the different styles of architecture after the manner of that time, which would have included a detailed study of the orders and a more sketchy acquaintance with the "exotic" styles taken up as fads by the Georgian period and later.

Generally speaking, there were two main paths by which young men reached architecture at that time. Most of the better-known figures chose the road of patronage. This consisted of much travel, especially in Italy, and some study of the writings of Vitruvius and his Renaissance successors. Those who adopted this path were frequently weak on the side of drawing and of the physical difficulties of building, though strong in the matter of theoretical design. The second stream, as it were, comes up from below, from the carpenters, masons, and bricklayers who first learned how to build and secondly (if at all) how to design.

The energy which characterized the young man in later years compelled him to continue his studies with great zeal even after his apprenticeship was over. One must suppose that the surviving Gothic churches of Shaftesbury received their share of investigation. Possibly one reason for his enthusiasm at this time was his engagement to Elizabeth Parry, a daughter of the Rev. John Parry and Hannah Lush from Denbigh, North Wales. John Parry was a dissenting minister, whereas Richard had grown up in the fold of the Established Church. They were married in London on November 14, 1826.

By this time Richard Upjohn was doing a prosperous business, if his journal is a fair means of judging. Some of it was cabinet-making, in the narrower sense, as the entry "An order for two cane bottom chairs from the Rev. Mr. Hussey [?]" makes apparent. Others deal with roofing, windows, lintels, flooring, and similar matters which pertain more strictly to architecture. Among the books which he bought at this time was *Smith's Cabinet-Maker's and*

Upholsterer's Guide, London, 1826. This volume gives a very fair idea of the diversity of taste at the time, since the modern and approved designs for furniture and interior decoration cover the Egyptian, Grecian, Gothic, Arabesque, French, English, and other schools of art—a veritable (if somewhat superficial) history of design in itself.

It is clear that the young man at this time found it easier to be employed than to make money. If one were to judge solely by the entries in his notebooks showing his activity, one would suppose him on the high road to comfort, but this seems not to have been the case. Whether his imagination and love of doing things well led him to be more extravagant in fulfilling his commissions than was absolutely necessary, we cannot tell. In a later letter speaking of this time, he says, "The want of a proper trust in Divine Providence, too much confidence in my own power, and too little knowledge of mankind, sent me floundering in difficulties in my native land."²

By 1828 his affairs had reached such a state that he decided to emigrate in an effort to better his fortunes in a new country. Though an uncle offered to pay his debts if he would remain in England, he refused. His letter says, "These I was enabled to adjust and not being desirous of realizing a second time what I considered hard treatment from some of whom I ought to have received something better, I resolved without much reflexion to sail for this country with my dear wife and one child."³ The child was his son, Richard Michell, born March 7, 1828. It is fair to assume that some of his family, who had rather disapproved his choice of an occupation, were not inclined to excuse the early mistakes made by the young man.

He knew he would not be quite alone or friendless in the new country. His own brother Aaron was already in New Bedford, and his wife's brother had settled in Manlius, New York. He took passage in the sailing ship *Hebe*, under Captain Boig, bound for New York. Fortunately his diary of this trip has been preserved.

² Richard Upjohn to Samuel Rodman, undated, but c. July, 1848.

³ *Ibid.*

18th of April 1829 sailed in the ship Hebe bound for New York. Went out of the London Docks about $1\frac{1}{2}$ past 1 O'Clock. Anchored at Gravesend at 5 the same afternoon. Drawn down by a steamer named the Columbine.

19. Sunday. Weather rather windy, the forepart of the day with some rain. Towards the evening became favorable weighed anchor and came down as far as ——— where we anchored.

20. Monday early in the morning again sailed. Wind against us. Some of the passengers sick. My wife was so rather. Our Birth haveing been proved somewhat uncomfortable I pulled down 4 of them and put them up again by leave of the captain.

21. Tuesday. Very fine morning but no wind scarce. What there was was rather agains us. Saw Dover about two or three miles off. Passed many other places the names I can't recollect. Saw the coast of France very plain. About the middle of the day the wind changing to the most favorable point that could be desired the sails were increased in number and went at the rate of 7 miles an hour. Assisted in making a step ladder. This evening rather dark. Wind increased to a brisk gale. Ship goes very well. The Ladies in the after part of the ship somewhat alarmed. When we were about to go to bed the vessel rolled more and more. Pots, pans, and kettles began to fly about which occasioned not a little mirth. 12 O'clock got a light to see all night. Slept till morning.

22. Made my wife some coffee, boiled some eggs for breakfast. All the ladies and gentlemen sick myself excepted. After having provided for breakfast, made a large sauspan of famous gruel for all in our cabin; did much good. The boy enjoyed the tossing about of the ship according to usual degree of spirit. Swept out our cabin, mopt it well, caused some vinegar to be sprinkled on the floor. Being somewhat tired, led down for an hour. Rose, got some dinner, nursed the boy on deck after, and got my wife and other ladies to take the air. Very pleasant now of [f] the coast of Dorset. Portland bears about 10 miles off, Saint Albans is plain to be seen. In consequence of the wind last night the sea rolls, makes the ship move from head to stern. Toward evening the [wind] rose to a brisk gale but very fair for our journey.

Thursday 23. Wind still favourable. Most people in the ship very sick. The coast of Dorset plainly to be seen. Portland is very fine. Morning cloudy. About middle of the day the sun appears. Toward evening rain comes on again and wind. Ship goes about 9 miles an hour. Wife very sick but not so much as some. Counted 8 vessels beside our own all outward bound. 1 appears to be beating up channel.

Friday 24. My wife much better today. I drank about a quart of coffee for breakfast. Made a pudding, boy fed very hearty of it. Time this week seems to pass very quick. Cannot do anything to my writing. My wife and Mrs. Gray up on deck. All going on well. Providence is good and

his mercies abound toward us. Quite out of channel in open sea. No fear now of falling on shore. . . .

Saturday 25. Fine wind. Still nothing of moment occur^d to except the breaking of two white plates, cost perhaps 5^d.

Sunday 26. Still fine. Prayers on deck at 12 O'clock. My wife much better. Sat up till 12 O'clock] at night to view the sea by night. It appeared something like fire. . . .

Tuesday 28. Wind still very fair but not much. Go about 100 miles in 24 hours. Saw two vessels today. The boy walked on the deck today. He is very well. The vaccination answers our utmost expectation.

Wednesday 29. Wind little stronger. Great crowd of sail going about 6 miles an hour. Still very pleasant. Hailed a brig bound for Bremen in Germany, came from Charlestown, capitol of South Carolina. She had been 24 days on her voyage. Name of the ship Ambroya.

Thursday 30. . . . Had some conversation on the subjects of universal salvation and our erroneous translation of the scriptures. My arguments proved somewhat productive of conviction in the person with whom I conversed. Ship rolls heavy this evening. Saw a brig bearing north of us supposed to be bound for Quebeck. Had some talk with the captain today respecting wages in America. Said he had paid from 12/6 to 15/ shillings to joiners in repairing his ship.

Friday May 1st. Scarce any wind, a very fine day. Sun set in the vast ocean with its usual grandeur. Ship passed us in the afternoon.

Saturday May 2. Wind quite ahead of us. For the first time obliged to steer in a northerly direction. About 7 this evening a little Boy about 5 years of age died of an inflammation in the throat. An American Brig passed us in the morning.

Sunday May 3. . . . Child buried $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6 O'clock in the morning. . . .

Monday May 4th. Sea running high wind very fair. The first rough weather we have had. Rose this morning, got my coffee pot on the galley fire, had it upset twice. Burnt my bacon to a cinder. The spray of the ship coming over the ship gave me a complete wash. All the women sick again & most of the men. . . .

Wednesday May 6. . . . One of the men being on the mizen top mast unfortunately fell about 7 ft., caught a small line by which he hung with his left hand while the ship was rolling very much, so that if he had let go, he must unavoidably fall into the sea, but being uncommonly dextrous, he caught with his feet a large rope which runs from the main to the mizen mast and dropping his hands down on the same rope, he descended without receiving any injury. Sea appears in the evening very grand. It seemed as tho' the face of it was entirely on fire. Much apparent confusion among slop Buckets, Kittles, coffee pots, crockery of every description. However the night passed pretty well; now and then there was

to be heard some miserable egaculation or other by those whose nerves were not strong enough to cross a mill pond. . . .

Friday May 8th. Wind still fair. 5 evening, 5 or 6 whales not far from the ship. All the passengers seemed gratified with the sight. My boy pleased with pulling about the ropes. The moon shining, the evening being pleasant, music and dancing ended the day.

Saturday May 9th. Very fine day. Some of the passengers and sailors bathed in the evening.

Sunday May 10. Going a direct course about 7 miles an hour. Music in the afternoon & evening. I was tempted to stay on deck till between 12 & 1 to enjoy the night by moonlight.

Monday May 11th. Fine sailing weather all day. Going from 7 to 9 miles an hour. Doubts when we shall get to New York. Some say Friday next, some Saturday, others Sunday.

Tuesday May 12th. Wind still fair, very fine morning. In the afternoon 23 of us drank tea on the deck. One of the party being a baker, we had the luxury of eating soft bread and very good cakes, toast, &c. After tea we had very good London Bottled Porter. . . .

Thursday May 14. Still a calm. Some of the passengers had the long boat out. They had a very smart pull to regain the ship. Came up with it at 8 in the evening. Mr. Hardy, the chief mate, seeing a Large fish pass the ship at some little distance but not near enough to harpoon it, he ordered out the jolly boat and took two seamen with him. Came up with the ship about 5 miles from it and killed the fish. It will produce 7 gallons of oil.

Friday May 15. Still a calm. Some of our party resumed their pleasures in the boat. Got my chest up out of the hold, examined the things in it, took out my paintings. In the afternoon bathed in the sea, descended into it by means of a ladder. In the evening a rowing match commenced between 4 passengers in the long boat and the Captain and mate in the jolly boat. The latter beat them.

Saturday May 16. Wind pretty fair. The chief mate, 2 sailors, and 4 of the Passengers went out in a sailing boat to try how fast it would go. Came in about 8 in the evening. . . .

Wednesday May 20. . . . Soundings in the evening 35 fathom off the Island of Nantucket. . . .

Monday May 25. At 12 O'clock within 5 miles of Long Island, but obliged to put to sea on account of the wind.

Tuesday May 26. Wind pretty fair today. Saw two fishing smacks for makiral. Captain sent out a boat to one of them, purchased 150, sold all except a few for his own use at 6^d a piece, gave 12 s. for the lot. A dense fog most of the day. Saw a number of porpoises.

Wednesday May 27. . . . Land seen by some of the seamen at 5

O'clock this morning; could not discover it myself at the clearest part of the day.

Thursday May 28. A dead calm. No appearance of land. The Captain, myself, and 3 others beside our wives sailed out to one of the fishing boats. As soon as Mr. Kenard, who was the first person that got on board their bark, had step on the deck, the captain of the schooner gave him a very fine cod-fish. They also presented us with a considerable number of makrell as well as dry salt fish. After returning presents and having taken refreshments, we made for our ship. We regretted that we had [not] asked them for some of their molessas as we [were] out of sugar but they came on board of us in the evening and brought two bottles for the Ladies. We returned their hospitality. Very fine morning. Saw Long Island about 10 miles off. . . .

Friday May 29. A dense fog. Expectation of a Pilot, firing of guns, and ringing of the bell to give them a chance of knowing there was a vessel near. Water $7\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms. The fog clearing for a short space found ourselves within 2 miles of land. Anchored immediately. Mate went on shore for pilot. Awful lightning, Thunder, &c.

Saturday May 30. Passing Long Island. Sandy Hook pilot boarded about 1 o'clock. Anchored in the evening a mile from the harbor.

Sunday June 1st [correctly May 31]. Weighed anchor about 5 in the morning, sailed to the quarantine ground and again cast anchor off Staten Island. The Doctor came on Board, all the people were examined by him. Several of the passengers went on shore.

Monday [June 1st]. All the births taken down, ship cleaned, all the people clad in the cleanest and best apparel. Doctor then cleared the ship. Sailed into New York about half past 6 in the evening. Sent a letter to London by one of the liners. Took lodgings 101 Broad St.

Tuesday June 2nd. Remained in New York.

Wednesday June 3rd. Sailed in a steamer for Albany.

Thursday [June 4th]. 5 o'clock in the evening went on board a tow boat for Manlius.

Friday [June 5th]. Sailing most of the day thro a fine romantic country. Very warm. The Boy not very well today.⁴

There is every reason to suppose that this reflects a typical voyage of the time. The picture he paints of a leisurely crossing, swimming from the ship's side, visiting other vessels en route, and conditions of life in the steerage forms a striking contrast to the short trip on a present-day liner.

⁴ Most of the punctuation has been added, as have the items in brackets.

More important is the brief reference to his conversation about universal salvation. Always a deeply religious man, he probably was passing through that period of questioning which so many younger men undergo before coming to a definite conclusion. That same speculative attitude is apparent in another stray sentence from the notebook which contains the diary. To judge from its position, it must have been written before his journey. "If Christ be only a man how is it that the inhabitants [*sic*] of the world were chosen in him before the creation." One would like to know more about the phrase, "our erroneous translation of the scriptures." Although he was well educated in grammar school and although that curriculum may be expected to have contained a very considerable amount of training in the classics, it is not likely that Richard Upjohn can have possessed any great proficiency in Greek and Hebrew such as would enable him to read the original versions of the Scriptures. It is more probable that he had come across discussions as to the accuracy of translation of the Bible and that it is to them he refers.

One further item, doubtless the product of his straitened circumstances before sailing for America, is the following passage:

Distress is not a proper subject for merriment or topic for invective. If misery be the effect of virtue it ought to be revered; if of ill fortune it ought to be pitied, and if of vice, not to be insulted, because it is perhaps itself a punishment to the crime by which it is produced. And the humanity of that man can deserve no panegyric, who is capable of reproaching a criminal in the hands of the executioner.

The stay in New York was very brief, as indicated by the diary. A subsequent letter to his son says that, on landing, "we walked up Broadway, your mother with pattens on her feet and a baby in her arms, and the first roof we went under was Trinity Church and ten years after I put a new roof on [it]." Curiously prophetic that this first shelter in America, aside from his boyhood visit, should be in the very church with which his name is indissolubly connected and whose rebuilding brought him such wide recognition and fame!

His choice of Manlius, New York, as a destination was due to the residence there of Richard Parry, his brother-in-law, with whom he stayed. It was the more necessary to find this helping hand at the beginning, since he tells us that he arrived in Manlius with "3 silver dollars" in his pocket. There he stayed for a little over a year, until the fall of 1830, finding work in the vicinity.

. 3 .

LAUNCHING A CAREER

OPPORTUNITY for work as a cabinetmaker must have been limited in the little upstate town of Manlius in 1830, even though Upjohn surely worked to a small extent in the surrounding countryside. New Bedford, on the other hand, was a flourishing city, thanks to the whaling industry, and offered the further inducement to him that his own brother Aaron was already settled there.

We may form some idea of what New Bedford was like at the time from the opening pages of Melville's *Moby Dick*. The city must have been picturesque—shipping magnates rubbing shoulders with crews from the backwoods or the islands of the Pacific, Queequeg and Tashtego, harpooners, sailors, boat steerers, and oarsmen; taverns merry and boisterous; splendid houses of the wealthy, whose ships had returned laden with oil enough to light many a house throughout the country. The industry and town were growing rapidly. One of those who had made a fortune in whaling was Samuel Leonard, known at the time as the wealthiest oil merchant in the United States. By 1830 his interests had diversified from whaling to lumber. This branch of his activity must have prospered greatly after the fire which destroyed many structures in New Bedford in 1830.

Perhaps it was in connection with this side of Leonard's activity that Richard Upjohn found employment on arriving in the city. The younger man was already a competent draftsman and, since there is no evidence to show that Leonard had any connection with cabinetwork, it is reasonable to assume that he was employed as such. His wages were one dollar a day. Since that sum was hardly enough even at that time to enable him to support a family, he opened an evening school of drafting which seems to have been

quite successful. This opportunity to acquire more professional training was welcome to many. His sympathy for the draftsman is further shown by his starting a movement to reduce the working day from ten to eight hours. The name of Richard Upjohn, carpenter, appears as one of the charter members of the Mechanic's Association in New Bedford, formed in February, 1833.

Leonard's concern with building was less that of an architect than that of a dealer in materials and perhaps of a contractor. Nor did the young man working in his office consider himself an architect in the beginning. However, it so happened that one day a set of plans for a courthouse was brought into the office; in these the word architect was added to the name of the designer in the lower corner. On seeing this, Richard Upjohn exclaimed, "If that's architecture, then I am an architect, and after that I hung out my shingle."¹ It is fair to assume that in the last phrase he referred to the opening of a small office for independent work and perhaps to his advertisements in the New Bedford *Daily Mercury*. Possibly the office was simply his home, and any work done for himself may have been executed during his spare moments. The advertisements still avoid the term architect. They begin March 5, 1833:

Architectural Plans and Elevations,
Neatly Executed at Short Notice, By
Richard Upjohn.

Orders left at the Mechanic's Hall, New Bedford.

To this short statement he added in the issue of March 12:

Reference to Messrs. James B. Congdon, Wm.
H. Taylor, Samuel Leonard.

Naturally the men named were fairly important people who must have been acquainted with Upjohn personally and had some knowledge of his ability. Leonard, as his employer, was an obvious choice. Congdon was cashier of the Merchant's Bank and apparently a leading citizen since he held the post of chairman of the board of selectmen. Taylor was deputy collector of the port of New Bedford. The advertisement was continued intermittently till August 22, by which time it had no doubt accomplished its purpose.

¹ Richard Upjohn to James Upjohn, recalled by the latter.

By this means and with the assistance of the friends he had made, Upjohn seems to have been quite busy and prosperous, for he was able to purchase a lot in January, 1834. One would expect to find his earliest independent work in New Bedford, but no⁵ evidence has yet come to light to prove a connection with any specific building. The decade 1827-37 saw many fine Greek Revival mansions put up. It is hard to believe that he had no hand in any of them, at least as a carpenter. However, although he began working in the traditional Greek manner, his style as yet had not acquired its characteristic stamp, and to ascribe any of these houses to him in the absence of specific documents would be extremely rash. It is true that Grace Church, New Bedford, is connected with him by a persistent tradition, but this is probably incorrect. It may be based on the fact that the Upjohn firm, more than thirty years later when they were undoubtedly the most famous church architects in the country, made plans for this congregation.² It seems at least possible that this later church may have been confused with the earlier.

The first certain work by Richard Upjohn is Symphony House, Bangor, Maine, designed in 1833 as the residence of Isaac Farrar, a pioneer lumberman in that region. It is more than probable that Farrar had dealt with Leonard and that he had met the young architect in that connection. As originally planned (Fig. 1, reversed in execution), the house was arranged around a central hall containing the great staircase. In execution the large room to the right was divided approximately in the center, producing a still greater similarity to traditional house plans. The adoption of a circular salon to the left of the entrance was typical of many houses in Federal or Early Republican times. For example, Bulfinch in the Barrell mansion in Charlestown formed an elliptical chamber, and the Swan house in Dorchester has a circular room. These, to be sure, are placed on the central axis, but the planning of the Adam brothers, which Upjohn very probably knew in England, frequently exhibits rooms of other than rectangular shape and by no means necessarily on the axis of the design.

Unfortunately, the design has been modified in later years both

² J. Filmore Kelly, *History of the Churches of New Bedford*, pp. 111-12.

internally and externally. The reception room at the right rear was refinished in mahogany by a later owner, Isaac Merrill, in the style of the late nineteenth century. On the other hand, the salon referred to above was treated in solid mahogany from Santo Domingo. The detail is bold, even austere, and purely in the Greek Revival mode. The doorjambs are broad unmoulded boards with a simple lintel and cornice above, all as plain as possible in order the better to exhibit the fine surface quality of the wood. Very simple paneled pilasters divide the wall into bays below the domed ceiling. This room, even to the folding shutters and the coal grate, remains as originally designed and through its direct expression of materials gives an impression of great richness. Though not large, it would seem to have been well adapted to living purposes.

Merrill's alterations to the exterior (Fig. 2) have been still more unfortunate. The paneled wall on the lot line was removed, the recessed doorway and the space above were pushed out into a projecting porch and bay window, bays were added to the sides of the house, and most serious of all the roof and cornice were radically altered. Old photographs (Fig. 3) show the house as it used to be. Little detail was permitted anywhere. The roof, following the Greek Revival tradition of the day, was concealed as far as possible behind a simple paneled parapet. Fluted Greek Doric columns between antae supported a plain entablature (these were used again in the alteration). The windows, in architectural treatment, are reduced to a minimum. All the effect is compelled to rest on the proportions of the structure which are most satisfying, and as if to emphasize this and to show that the architect felt assurance in the success of the proportions, the shape of each main mass is accented by having the whole wall surface, save for a few feet on the corners and top, slightly recessed. The parapet above the severely simple cornice is just high enough to terminate the design adequately.

Aside from its distinction of proportion, a quality which Richard Upjohn shows throughout his career, Symphony House is important in showing that he began his work in the traditional style of his day. This, to be sure, is what one should expect, but many people seem to be under the impression that the name of Upjohn is asso-

ciated only with the Gothic style. As if to show that this was no accident, Upjohn three years later added a still more striking house for Samuel Farrar, brother of his first client. Isaac Farrar must have been well satisfied with the services rendered for him; otherwise Samuel Farrar would hardly have continued to employ Upjohn.

The Samuel Farrar house on Court Street, Bangor, is more obviously Greek and considerably more of a show place. The possible effect of a great single room beside the entrance hall is well demonstrated here. Though not elaborate, the trim in this room is enriched with wreaths on the door architraves and above the large windows of the room. Since this woodwork is pine painted white, Upjohn no longer relies on the surface quality of the material but adds enough in the way of decorative accent to prevent any feeling of bareness.

Externally (Fig. 4) the house is an amphiprostyle temple with an extension to the left. Though the taste of the day, and no doubt his own feelings, suggested the use of the Classic temple, it is significant that he should be willing to depart from the exact temple form to accommodate more readily the multiple and complex requirements of living. He was not at this time, or later when he became known for his Gothic work, so enamored with the beauty of abstract form or so subservient to tradition as to sacrifice the needs of the occupants to these preconceived ideals. A similar illustration of that spirit is apparent in the continuous dormers on both sides of the roof which light the attic space. As in the Isaac Farrar house, the walls are very plain, simple panels inserted in the brick between the windows of the first and second floors providing the only interruption of the surface. Here he has abandoned the interesting device used in the previous wall treatment, of considering the whole area as a single panel, and properly so, since this house is designed with a far more definite direction than the other. The whole accent is inevitably placed on the porticoes at the ends, and consequently the sides are rightly treated with such simplicity as in no way to detract from them. The order is the mutulary Doric, of fairly slender and elegant proportions, the columns being about seven and one-half diameters in height. The poorest feature is the decorative device in the pediment, an orna-

ment which is lamentably out of scale with the rest of the house. Though something was certainly needed at that point, one feels that the right solution has not in this instance been achieved. A most unusual feature, either in the Greek Revival or in the original Greek, is the retention of mutules on the soffit of the raking cornice, a desirable feature in view of the considerable height of the pediment. The triple division of the ground-story windows, large in the center flanked by smaller ones on the sides, is common enough at this date, but the bead just under the stone lintel adds a touch of lightness very successfully.

It has seemed wise to consider these two important houses together, though the Samuel Farrar house was begun after Upjohn had moved to Boston. He took this step in February, 1834, doubtless because of the greater advantages of a city the size of Boston. Here he stayed until called to New York in March, 1839. As in New York at this time, the architectural group seems to have designed extensively in close and complicated collaboration. If one had work on hand and needed draftsmen, unlike the present day he would get another architect to help him out, and in due course the procedure would be reversed. It is, therefore, peculiarly difficult to know just who the real designer may have been in all cases.

Alexander Parris was the best known of the Boston group, being responsible for the David Sears house, the Somerset Club on Beacon Street, and St. Paul's Cathedral on Tremont Street. Among other things, he had in his office commissions for the Courthouse and an enginehouse and several smaller commissions in the Charlestown Navy Yard. Richard Upjohn worked for him on these three jobs a total of ninety-six and one-half days, at a rate of two dollars a day, between May 19 and November 20, 1834.³

The account book further proves that during the same time he was carrying on his own work. That his practice grew rapidly is shown not only by the story of the Gardiner Mansion but by the item in his cash account of November 16, 1835, "To Courier advertising for a lad for the office. \$1."⁴ If he had not been fairly busy, he certainly would not have needed an office boy. Still more

³ Account Book No. 1.

⁴ This and the entries following are from Account Book No. 2.

instructive is the entry of January 18, 1836, a double entry: "To Mr Parris Arc't the am't of Note for borrowed money with 12 months ints thereon. \$67.84." Evidently Parris must have known him well and had confidence in him. Perhaps they had become acquainted before Upjohn moved to Boston. Possibly the person who passed through Leonard's office with the set of plans which caused Upjohn to describe himself as an architect was Parris himself. These things are not clear, nor is the reason apparent why Upjohn needed the money. Was it to establish himself in business? Had there been illness in the family? Perhaps he contracted debts in New Bedford. One cannot tell. Equally interesting is the other item on the same day: "To Mr Parris for work done on the Mass. Gen. Hos. \$14.16." Clearly Upjohn was here returning the compliment by employing Parris on his own commission, a small alteration job. Moreover, it is fair to conclude that he would not have had to employ anyone for this work had he not been well occupied by more important tasks, such as will be discussed later.

Of great importance are two items referring to the purchase of architectural books. On January 6, 1836, he paid "To Monroe & Francis for a Britton's Christian Archi[tecture] \$15." This presumably was Volume V^s added in 1826 to that author's *Architectural Antiquities*. The volume is entitled *Chronological History of Christian Architecture in England*. Britton also used the phrase in five papers which appeared in the *British Magazine* in 1833-34 bearing the title, "Historical Notices and Descriptions of Christian Architecture in England." The second reference a few days before, on December 28, 1835, reads, "Paid to Hilliard Gray & Co for Books Gothic Architecture on Parochial churches &c \$27.50." The title, if it is intended to be such, is vague and apparently inaccurate but might refer to *Views of the Most Interesting Collegiate and Parochial Churches in Great Britain* by John Preston Neale and John Le Keux.

A few selected items throw light on the current prices of commodities needed by architects and others:

July 3, 1835	Postage letter to Gardiner [Maine]	\$.19
" 9, "	Stage hire to Waltham [Massachusetts]	1.00

⁵ Upjohn already owned Vols. I-IV.

July 21, 1835	Postage of letter from New Bedford	\$.10
Aug. 17, "	3 shts. tracing paper	.56
" " "	1 sht. Antiquarian paper	1.50
Sep. 19, "	1 doz. pencils	1.00
" " "	Indian Ink	.20
" 21, "	Dentist	.50
" 30, "	Candle	.02
" " "	Snuff	.06
Oct. 10, "	Cake Roman Ochre	.31
" " "	Indian Ink	1.00
Nov. 9, "	To Mr. Lancing for copy of specifications	1.00
Jan. 15, 1836	For barrel of flour	8.00
Feb. 26, "	To Chikey and Co for Cupid	16.00 ⁶

Several entries refer to pew rent paid the Central Universalist Society. The thought is immediately suggested that at this time Richard Upjohn had deserted the faith in which he had been born and raised and with which he was later to be so strongly identified. This conclusion is not likely, however. It will be remembered that his wife was the daughter of a dissenting minister in England, and he may have taken out this pew for her sake. If so, it would show that Upjohn's religious opinions had not yet become so strict as to forbid his countenancing another variety of belief within his own walls, a breadth of attitude which he unfortunately deserted within the next ten years. The man of 1846 would hardly have tolerated this for a moment. That he was as interested in religion as ever is testified by the purchase of a pocket Bible and a volume of "Sacred Memoirs." It is also possible that during these years, when Upjohn was still a young man in the early thirties, he was passing through a period of doubt such as assails many and that it was owing to the influence of Dr. Wainwright that these doubts were within the next few years finally set to rest. Such an explanation is reasonable in view of the observations in his diary.⁷ These items afford material for interesting speculation, though it cannot be much more than that today.

It was at this time, too, that he became an American citizen.

⁶ The Boston Directory, 1836, p. 115, has this entry: "Chickey Francis & Co. (N. M. & P. A.), plaster figures, 13 School."

⁷ *Vide supra*, pp. 25, 28.

Though he never lost his affection for his native country, it was entirely characteristic that he should feel a duty to the country of his adoption where he had found it possible to make a livelihood for himself and his growing family. The certificate of naturalization is dated January 12, 1836, and on the same day in the account book he recorded the large sum of twelve cents for the Declaration of Independence. A few days later he paid one Mr. Bradford \$15 "for expences of my naturalization."

Meanwhile, two very important commissions had come to him. The notebooks of 1835 are full of entries of letters and packages sent to R. H. Gardiner, Gardiner, Maine, for the Gothic mansion "Oaklands," which was begun in that year. The original drawings (Figs. 5, 6), signed "Rd. Upjohn, Arch," include plans for the ground and second floors with the poché in gray and elevations of the east, north, and south fronts, all at the unusual scale of twelve feet to an inch. The latter are rendered in water color, gray for the stone, light blue for the windows, cool gray to indicate a slate roof, and the whole resting on an unpleasant muddy-green strip representing the lawn. Though the house as built follows these designs quite closely, especially the east elevation, they can hardly be described as working drawings but rather as sketches to give the client some idea of the scheme. Such modifications as were made then or later tend to complicate the very simple silhouette. Little but the chimneys would have been visible above the parapet battlements had the original scheme been followed in its entirety.

The plan seems to be influenced by the foundation of an earlier house which had to be used again in part, and perhaps some of the Georgian aroma of the interior may be due to that. The disposition of the rooms on the east front is far more Georgian than Tudor, and the ample stair hall has little of the Gothic about it. The clustered shafts forming a newel come as a distinct surprise.

Commonly, the hopes raised by the quaintly picturesque drawings of this period, especially of those structures based on medieval styles, are dashed when the building itself is visited. In "Oaklands" (Fig. 7), the exact opposite is true. How much the attractiveness of the place may depend on the neat lawns with a screaming macaw on the hedge is difficult to know. Certainly the grounds

provide just the setting which is needed for the house, and the present owners are to be congratulated on the taste with which the place is maintained, both within and without. To say that "Oaklands" gives precisely the feeling of a medieval manor house is not quite accurate. Though reasonably correct in style, its deliberate symmetry leaves a dash of the Georgian to dilute the primarily Tudor suggestion by a flavor of localism, as the English portrait style in painting is modified by Copley, some of whose canvases are preserved within. The tendency toward simplification of silhouette and justness of proportion is no less evident than in the Greek Revival houses of Bangor, but here it is the more remarkable in view of the temptations afforded to the nineteenth century to seek out the falsely picturesque in neo-medieval work. The avoidance of purely decorative detail is striking. Although we need not measure each feature of the house strictly according to utilitarian standards, it is noticeable that the windows are covered only by a hood moulding, that the battlements are quite plain, and that the wall surface is undisturbed by any form of applied decoration. The proportions alone afford the house its distinction.

So striking a house in such a setting was bound to become famous at once. Hawthorne wrote of it in his *American Notebooks* as follows:

The new building was estimated, I believe, to cost about thirty thousand dollars; but twice as much has already been expended, and a great deal more will be required to complete it. It is certainly a splendid structure; the material, granite from the vicinity. At the angles, it has small, circular towers;⁸ the portal is lofty and imposing; relatively to the general style of domestic architecture in our country, it well deserves the name of castle or palace. Its situation, too, is fine, far retired from the public road, and attainable by a winding carriage-drive, standing amid fertile fields, and with large trees in the vicinity. There is also a beautiful view from the mansion adown the Kennebec.⁹

A letter of June 7, 1836, reveals some contemporary methods of practice. Where today full-sized details and very exact working drawings would be submitted for each detail of the house, both as originally designed and as altered in the process of construction,

⁸ The "towers" are, of course, octagonal buttresses.

⁹ Randall Stewart, ed., *The American Notebooks*, July 11, 1837, p. 8.

methods were then much more summary and were left to the understanding of the builders and client.

Boston June 7 1836

Sir

Mr Jones called yesterday respecting the chimnies. I believe you stated to me that the bases of them were cut which would prevent alteration. I do not think any other form would look so well as an octagon but as you are desirous of altering them I submit this for your consideration. [Here is inserted a slight sketch.] It varies from the present plan by having the smaller sides still more reduced so that the chimney would be a square with the angles cut off. You can on enquiry find what your stone-cutters would charge for such and whether the difference in the charge of the two plans would warrant any alterations.

I should like you to try the following mixture for a cement which is very easily done.

1 Cask of Hydraulick lime

1 " " Common "

2 " " good sharp grit sand

A less quantity of each will do keeping the same proportion.

R. H. Gardiner, Esq.

With the greatest respect
Your most Obt. Sevt.
Rich Upjohn

During 1835 and 1836 Upjohn had more than enough work to keep him busy and must have been able to put aside a certain amount of money. But in 1837 evil days fell on the country. The great depression hit the architects quite as severely as any other group, as it always does. Upjohn's business dwindled to almost nothing. His account book records but five commissions during 1837. Two of these were small jobs for the City of Boston, for which he received fifty dollars each. The other two were for private individuals: plans of a wall and fence for Mr. Crosby in Bangor at twenty dollars and a plan for a balcony railing for Mr. Thomson, at fifteen dollars. The fifth account, with Joseph H. Gardner of Roxbury, six dollars for sketches of a house and a journey to Roxbury, was not settled before the following year.¹⁰ His straitened circumstances are indicated plaintively in another letter to Mr. Gardiner.

¹⁰ Account Book No. 1.

Boston Oct 4 1837

Sir

We have nothing to do here, nor is there any means that I know of to meet rents and all the other expences attending the keeping of a family &c &c &c these *nothing to do* times. I have therefore come to the conclusion to ask you (if it be perfectly convenient) to send me from 10 to 30 or even 50 bushels of the best eastern potatoes. 3 or 4 barrels of good keeping apples and anything else that can be obtained without cash. All my business is gone—all my means—nearly all my credit—7 of us in family—most of them growing fast and hungry—wood and coals—flour and all other stuff high—nothing to be got at without money. Am living in hopes of doing something next spring.

R. H. Gardiner, Esq.

With the greatest

Respt Your most Ob' Servt—

Rich Upjohn

Will you please favor me
with an answer early

Possibly Upjohn would not have had to send this letter had the account for the Gardiner mansion been paid in full. Apparently that was not the case, for we find him the following year submitting his bill for work done three years before. The first half of the bill seems to have been paid earlier, but a balance of \$156.63 remained unsettled and covered work from October 5, 1835, to September 5, 1836.¹¹ Evidently Gardiner felt that he had paid enough and that the architect had overcharged him in view of the various inconveniences inherent in any building project which clients are apt to lay at the architect's door. His letter of protest has not been found, but the reply is preserved.

Boston Nov 23 1838

Sir

Yours of the 19 inst came to hand the 21st and this is the reply. You expected when you agreed that the days should be "common days." Since it was your expectation let it be so. Nevertheless 8 hours is my day and \$6 per day my charge for the generallity of work and which I have rec'd for two years past. "A good deal of work drawn wrong which had to be sent back and drawn over again." Your letter of May 27 1835 and my answer thereto is a sufficient explanation and shows that the men on the works were not capable of understanding the plan notwithstanding it was set out full size on the barn floor. My letter of June 2 1835 is another refutation of "A good deal." Your letter of June the 15 1835

¹¹ *Ibid.*

turned a great deal of the masonry as planned by me topsy turvy. You sent me word thereof with a sketch of the alteration of the interior laying down the rooms as suggested by you. I gave you correct plans of said work. At the time I see no complaint on reading the letters of correspondence about the plans being done wrong. "A great deal of unnecessary work done on the working plans." I do not estimate the value of a plan by the mere labor bestowed on the same as that is merely secondary. I have never drawn plans for you simply to make labour and thereby increase the number of days work. I have and my assistants have spent more time by far than has been charged on my acct. Your plans were done with as little expence as possible and taking into consideration that you called on me to give you plans for a building of such magnitude when the cellars were digging—that the plans were necessarily got up in great haste—that the distance from Boston to Gardiner being so great prevented my seeing the works so often as I ought—that you were continually chang [*sic*] your mind in relation to many important points while the building was actually in a state of progress, that you never had a man on the building fully qualified to conduct its erection, that your letters to me were generally written in great haste, that my plans had to be sent off piecemeal instead of their being made all at one time and compared one with another, copied, revised, and arranged in the usual methodical manner; I say taking these things duly into consideration and that your house so far as it has been finished does meet your expectation and that the architectural effect thereof is good, there can be no just reason at this late hour for complaining of my bill, for deteriorating the value of my services, for complaining and finding fault with my plans when there is no just cause for so doing. The \$70 proposal is a monstrous reduction—The bill is honest, my circumstances oblige me to accept what I cannot in justice to myself assent to. I have just been requested to give in my terms for superintending a building just about being erected after plans by myself. 5 per cent on the cost was my charge which was pronounced reasonable.¹²

R. H. Gardiner Esq.

Very respectfully
your most obt sevt
Rich^d Upjohn

P. S. Please to send by return of post.

Since there is no indication of the "monstrous reduction" in the account book, it seems likely that the letter of protest took effect and that Gardiner settled the bill as rendered. At that the fee was certainly moderate. Even taking the estimated cost as given by Hawthorne, five percent would amount to \$1,500—

¹² Most of the punctuation has been added.

whereas the full charge was \$436.63.¹³ Of course, full superintendence was not given to "Oaklands," but a charge of double the amount would not have been unreasonable. Still, the current scale of prices was pretty low. Even assuming the utmost simplicity, the charge to "Mr. Stone For working plans of house \$4.00" strikes one today as extraordinary. In this case the drawings were probably at quarter scale, for a standard type of house of small dimensions and without specifications or superintendence. An extra charge seems normally to have been made for specifications.

During these years Upjohn was doing a number of small commissions for the City of Boston. Doubtless his work with Parriss had brought him into contact with the city authorities, notably with Theodore Lyman, mayor of Boston, and with his son-in-law, Samuel Atkins Eliot. His account book mentions such items as a lamp for the city, the fence and gates of Boston Common, a niche in the House of Representatives, an African Schoolhouse, and a City Hall for which his rendered drawing (Fig. 8) is still preserved. This drawing shows a Classic building in perspective, rendered in much the same simple manner as those for "Oaklands," with a few washes. It is signed twice: "Richard Upjohn, Arch." and "Richard Upjohn del." Evidently he wanted it to be quite clear that he was responsible both for the design and for its presentation. The design with a recessed colonnade in the second floor, pedimented windows, and a generally dignified Palladian atmosphere reminds one that the first American edition of Palladio is still preserved from Upjohn's library though without indication of the date of its acquisition.

A most important friendship made during these early years in Boston was that of Dr. Jonathan Mayhew Wainwright, who was elected rector of Trinity Church, Boston, in 1833.¹⁴ In 1835 Upjohn submitted drawings for a proposed alteration to Trinity and for a pulpit for St. Paul's. Dr. Wainwright also commissioned him to draw plans for a chapel on Summer Street. The next year a chapel on Pitts Street was dedicated, in November, 1836. Its

¹³ Account Book No. 1.

¹⁴ Boston *Evening Post*, March 16, 1833.

plain rectangular mass, with large round-arched windows on the second story above a row with segmental tops, was not particularly interesting, save as an indication that he refrained from using Gothic for sectarian churches, a rule generally, though not always, followed in later life. The building was modest enough, well proportioned but obviously too insignificant to merit discussion. The Suffolk Street Chapel of 1839-40 was almost identical in form, though the cornerstone was laid after he had left for New York, and no record has been preserved of his connection with it. The type was so plain that it might be regarded as standard in both instances.

It may have been his connection with Trinity Church, Boston, that brought his name before the Church at large and caused his selection as architect of St. John's, Bangor, Maine, but probably that commission is the fruit of his successful work in Bangor already considered. We know, at least, that he went to Bangor in November, 1835, since his account book records on the 16th of that month, "Expences from Boston to Bangor and back, \$32.84."¹⁵ The first move to form the parish was made on September 28, 1835, but it was not until June 4, 1836, that steps were taken to erect a building.¹⁶ The moving spirit of St. John's was Charles Hayes, who seems to have anticipated each formal step taken by the parish and to have had plans made during 1835-36. In order to help raise funds, a number of lithographs of the original perspective were made. The building was probably finished during 1837, but it was not until October 17, 1839, that it could be consecrated, since it was still in debt at the time of its completion.

The plan of St. John's was less radical than might be expected. In its main lines it followed earlier types. Though divided into nave and aisles, the latter were almost as high as the former (Fig. 9). Consequently neither triforium nor clearstory was present. At the beginning it had box pews worked out in Gothic design, an anomaly suggestive of the application of Gothic detail to Georgian mass in the earlier phase of the Gothic Revival. Similarly conserva-

¹⁵ Account Book No. 2.

¹⁶ Harris Walter Reynolds, *The Beginnings of St. John's Church, Bangor, Maine*.

tive were the galleries which ran down both sides of the church, though not quite to the full width of the aisles. These galleries cut across the aisle windows with no recognition of that fact in the design. The clustered piers were rather starved in appearance, especially since they apparently supported a ribbed, quadripartite vault in plaster. Most characteristic of all was the omission of the chancel, the altar originally being placed against the east wall of the nave, where the pulpit of Georgian churches normally stood. Upjohn lengthened this chancel in 1863-64, and the church has since been completely rebuilt in the present century by Hobart Upjohn.

To say that the plan and interior of St. John's make no break with the Gothic as then used in this country would be too conservative a statement. Though its space composition was to some degree traditional, there is none of the filigree work that appears in Bishop Hopkins's designs of ten years before. In fact, the interior is noticeably simple and straightforward, showing that avoidance of merely applied detail which has been remarkable in all Upjohn's work so far. It is wrong to describe St. John's as purist—no Gothic design on such a mass could be that—but the details showed a knowledge of the style beyond that of his day, and the connection between the shaft, ribs, and pier has an organic feeling which is quite exceptional at this time. Were it not for the presence of the galleries and the absence of the chancel, one would be inclined to rank St. John's as the first church in America of the mature Gothic Revival. As it is, it must still be classed with the earlier group, though showing promise of the change that was to come.

The perspective (Fig. 10) from which the lithograph was made again shows considerable progress. By comparison with previous work, the mass seems reasonable, and the detail, though slightly emaciated in spots, on the whole is not out of place. In the Georgian Gothic churches, whether in America or in England, one always felt a sense of surprise in seeing a pointed window rather than the expected round arch. Here the converse is true. In the castellated Gothic, for all its quaintness, the windows pierce holes in the wall like shapes cut from a sheet of pastry with a fancy cutter. Here the windows seem far more to belong in their positions. For the first

time, some parts of the design seem to have been added solely for the sake of their appearance, namely, the paneling of the buttresses and the decorative bands on the spire. Theoretically, these might be condemned; practically, they add much to the charm of the structure. It cannot be said that the decoration runs riot in this fundamentally simple little design. One wonders whether the scheme was not made in expectation, or at least in hope, of its being executed in stone—the perspective suggests it. Certainly the design is more appropriate to that medium than to the wood in which it was actually built. It is not improbable that the wooden church may have had some of the flimsiness which characterizes many of the earlier Gothic Revival buildings. Perhaps we are fortunate in seeing it through the colored veil of the perspective, rather than in actuality.

Though St. John's is definitely advanced in its grasp of the Gothic style and knowledge of detail, the lack of the liturgical features, of the ecclesiological point of view suggested in Chapter I, prevents its achieving the significance of Trinity Church, New York. Though the perspective has great charm, the chief importance of St. John's lies in the preparation it gave the architect for his next big commission.

. 4 .

TRINITY CHURCH

Farewell! Farewell! They're falling fast,
Pillar and arch and architrave;
Yon aged pile to me the last
Sole record of a bygone past
Is speeding to its grave!
And thoughts from memory's fountain flow
(As one by one, like wedded hearts,
Each rude and mouldering stone departs)
Of boyhood's happiness and woe,
Its sunshine and its shade,
And though each ray of early gladness
Comes mingled with the hue of sadness
I would not bid them fade.¹

ON DECEMBER 15, 1837, Dr. Jonathan Mayhew Wainwright was called to fill the vacancy created at Trinity Church, New York, by the elevation of Bishop Doane to the see of New Jersey. He did not at once accept the offer but finally took it on February 12, 1838. As we have seen, Dr. Wainwright was one of Upjohn's staunchest friends and admirers in Boston, and his new appointment was to prove vital to the young architect.

Trinity was already an old and venerable parish and probably the most important Episcopal church in the country. The first building, dating back to 1696-98 but later altered and enlarged, had finally been destroyed in the great fire of 1776 and was not rebuilt until 1788-90. It was to this second church, then, that Dr. Wainwright was called, a structure in the Georgian Gothic manner, perhaps with some influence of Batty Langley in the porch, though the old

¹ "On the Replacement of Old Trinity," author unknown, in Henry M. Onderdonk, *A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the City of New York*, pp. 12-13.

reproductions leave some doubt on this point. In any case, in 1838 members of the parish observed a dangerous sagging in the roof, and repairs in the form of iron braces were authorized by the Corporation. These seem to have been rather inadequate or temporary. The low pitch of the roof failed to discharge the heavy snows of the severe winter of 1838-39. Consequently once more the congregation became alarmed when the roof sagged perceptibly. On February 11, 1839, the Corporation authorized a careful survey of the condition of the roof and the employment of competent builders to make such an examination.

Family tradition has it that the committee responsible for the necessary repairs met in the office of Dr. Wainwright. When it was suggested that an architect be called in, a member of the committee asked who had been the architect of St. John's, Bangor, a lithograph of which was hanging on the wall. Dr. Wainwright told him. Richard Upjohn was therefore summoned to New York to give his expert opinion in regard to the problem faced by the church. That Dr. Wainwright should have had such a lithograph is highly probable. Moreover, his friendship with the architect would naturally dispose him to throw his influence in favor of one whose work he had proved. Some corroboration of this story is found in the fact that Upjohn's account books in Boston show no entries after February, 1839.

On March 7 Mr. Thomas L. Ogden reported to the Standing Committee that a survey of the roof had been made by a group of builders in the presence of an architect and of members of the committees concerned. Though Richard Upjohn is not here mentioned by name, it is tempting to think that he was the architect in question. A note in his copy of Volume I of the *Ecclesiologist* reads, "March, 1839—made sketch to improve Trinity Church, N. Y.—R. U." Furthermore, the letter to Samuel Rodman mentioned above² says, "March 39—was sent for by persons from this city in regard to certain repairs then about to be made on the former Trinity church edifice."

Though it was not yet clear to the committee, Richard Upjohn foresaw that the repairs might well prove much more extensive

² *Vide supra*, p. 23.

than was at first suspected. He felt it wise to ask his friend, Samuel Atkins Eliot, to testify to his ability and experience.

Wm. H. Harison, Esq.,
Chairman of Committee of Trinity
Church, New York

Boston, April 23d 1839

Sir,

Mr. Upjohn having desired me to bear witness to his qualifications as an architect, I take the liberty of stating to you that within the last five or six years, I have employed Mr. Upjohn in various branches of his profession, both for public & private objects, & in every instance have had reason to be entirely satisfied with his taste & judgment. His acquaintance with fine specimens of art in his native country gives him an advantage over many other persons in his profession.

It has also seemed to me that he is very judicious in his estimates of cost, rarely falling short of what is found to be requisite.

With this opinion of his talent & skill, I hope you will excuse the liberty I take in addressing you on the subject, at his request.

Very Respectfully
Your Obed't Servt.
Saml. A. Eliot

The committee, acting on the authority granted it "to employ a suitable person as draughtsman and superintendent of such repairs and alterations,"³ engaged Richard Upjohn at a salary of \$200 a month and directed him to prepare a suitable plan at once. Such a drawing, corresponding to the lines of the old church save that the roof was to be of tin, was submitted on May 16. At the same time the architect was ordered to prepare drawings for an enlargement of the chancel. Those instructions he apparently took to permit him greater latitude in design, but the committee was not yet ready to take the final step.

As Upjohn had foreseen, when the old roof was removed it became evident that the walls were in bad condition, being seriously out of plumb, and that the tower and spire of the old church were so defective and insecure as to compel their replacement. Acting with its habitual caution, the committee obtained opinions from several master builders before coming to its final decision on August 5, 1839, to destroy the whole of the older edifice and build

³ Trinity Vestry Minutes, May 6, 1839.

a new church in its place. Upjohn therefore sent for his wife and family, his goods and chattels.

On September 9, 1839, the architect submitted plans for a new church, with a spire fifty feet higher than its predecessor. Though the width of the structure was the same, fifteen feet were added in length, and Upjohn at the same time asked permission to increase that dimension by one or two bays more. The cost of the church, built in stone but with a spire of wood, was estimated at \$85,000; to build the spire also of stone would add \$5,000 more. The Corporation wisely decided to have their spire of stone and, ultimately, to grant the request for additional length.

Two sketches, preserved from an old scrapbook, are clearly identifiable as preliminary studies. The first (Fig. 11) is labeled "Original Sketch for Alteration of Trinity Church." Since the height of the tower corresponds with that of the older Trinity, this cannot have been one of the drawings submitted on September 9. Perhaps this may be the drawing referred to in his note in the *Ecclesiologist* as being made in March. That remark, coupled with the title, offers some proof for such a supposition. On the other hand, it may be that this belongs with the drawings submitted in May when records show that his desires and imagination had outstripped the directions given him by the committee. The height of the spire makes it unlikely that this can be dated later than May, 1839.

The second (Fig. 12) is clearly one of the sketches of September 9. Although only part of the tower is shown in this section, it was obviously higher than that in Figure 11 even allowing for some slight difference in scale in the two drawings. Moreover, only five bays are shown in the nave, whereas later plans in 1839 reveal the seven bays of the existing church. Therefore, this sketch can hardly be later than September. It shows unmistakably the progress toward a liturgical point of view.

These designs demand comparison with three buildings: the earlier Trinity; St. John's, Bangor; and the finished Trinity. As to the first, there was close correspondence in general dimensions and in disposition of the façade. The detail was markedly altered in the direction of a greater understanding of Gothic forms. The

older building belonged to the Georgian Gothic group; the new, to the mature stage of the Gothic Revival—or nearly so. The circular porch has been omitted, while buttresses, battlements, and tracery appear where none had existed before. Internally the change is almost complete.

Very much closer is the correspondence of the façade to that of St. John's, Bangor. Indeed, this similarity is so great that one might easily confuse the two in a casual inspection. All the main elements are the same, even to the paneled buttresses and the banding of the spire. The window tracery and battlements are slightly modified, and diagonal buttresses appear at the corners of the aisles, but the most significant change is in the proportions. Where at St. John's the aisles were almost as high as the nave, at Trinity they are low enough to allow a full clearstory. Internally the changes are much more important and permit us to describe these drawings as the beginning of the mature stage of the Gothic Revival. Though a gallery is still retained, the length of the nave is greater by one bay, and most extraordinary of all the chancel of two full bays is here well developed. This last item, coupled with the elevation of the altar several steps above the floor of the nave, was far too radical an innovation to be put through without protest. It is curious to find two lateral entrances on the south side of the church, a return to the system of the first Trinity which had been abandoned in the second building.

These sketches form an intermediate stage between St. John's and Trinity as finally built. The façade is closer to the former, the interior to the latter. Though the lower stages of the original design were carried out save in certain unimportant matters, the sloping roof of the aisle is reflected in the finished building. A full story has been added to the now salient tower, and the spire with its crockets and gables is far more lofty and elegant than before. As to the interior, the completed church omits the balcony, thereby taking the last great step toward the fully mature Gothic Revival. The paneled spandrels were omitted and the clearstory modified, in one respect perhaps to the detriment of the architecture. The original drawings show a straightforward timber roof, which was replaced

by the vault in plaster in the finished building, by order of the committee, May 31, 1841.

The liturgical character of these drawings makes them of still further interest. The foundation of the Cambridge Camden Society in May, 1839, formed to revive medieval ritual and propriety in church architecture and finishings, is closely contemporary with Figure 11. The changes, which appear in the extension of the chancel and the raising of the altar in Figure 12, are two of the important matters for which the Camden Society (later the Ecclesiological Society) had to struggle.

The cornerstone of the new church was not laid until June 3, 1841.⁴ The report of the Building Committee describes the laying of the cornerstone in "the North East buttress of the tower," with an inscription giving on one side the date and the names of the ministers and vestrymen and on the other those of the committee, Richard Upjohn, architect, James Thom, sculptor, James Vandenberg, master mason, and Samuel Martin, master carpenter. This event took place with less pomp than one might have expected. It would seem to have been almost a private matter. Not all the vestry were present, Philip Hone's diary recording that he was off fishing at the time. The more important New York papers make no mention of it, though oddly enough a notice of the laying of the cornerstone for Christ Church, Brooklyn, about a week later does appear. In that case Bishop Onderdonk was to be present, but when the cornerstone for Trinity Church was laid, the Bishop was in the upper parts of the state.

It is unnecessary to describe the building in detail. The church as finished (Figs. 13, 14, 15, 16) shows a far more perfect understanding of medieval forms than anything Richard Upjohn, or any one else, had done in this country up to that time. The increased knowledge may be safely attributed to the books, like Britton and Pugin, which he had been studying hard during the enforced lei-

⁴ Onderdonk, *op. cit.*, p. 16, which quotes the inscription (corroborated by the report of the Building Committee, Vestry Minutes, Jan. 11, 1847). Morgan Dix, *A History of the Parish of Trinity Church in the City of New York*, IV, 277, gives the date of the laying of the cornerstone as Thursday, June 2, 1841.

sure of the previous years. It is highly probable also that his friendship with Dr. Wainwright had by this time confirmed him in his belief as to the High Church nature of the Episcopal communion, therefore making him the more anxious to have this church fitted for what he believed to be its Catholic character.

Owing to this belief and to his realization of the necessity of a deep chancel to a ritualistic form of service, he fought hard and in the end successfully for that revolutionary feature which to many smacked of popery. When the preliminary sketches were submitted to the committee, its members found that the proposed chancel exceeded the instructions given to the architect, who was then directed not to exceed the "present projection" of the older shallow chancel. It was quite typical of Upjohn that he should refuse to give up what he believed to be right. After some time he persuaded the committee to allow him to proceed with the two-bay chancel, the second bay to be cut off by a partition, leaving that space available for the mural tablets which all were agreed must be preserved from the old church but which, if left on the walls of the nave, must give it an unpleasantly spotty appearance. An early plan actually shows this wall and passage. Such a device satisfied the members of the committee since it retained the more imposing architectural effect and also to some extent the traditional form of shallow chancel. Doubtless by a process of attrition, their objection to the deep chancel was removed; the wall cutting off the second chancel bay was taken down (ordered, Dec. 9, 1845), and the space provided by the architect in his original drawings appears in the finished work. It is interesting to speculate whether the shallow chancel of the Church of the Ascension, completed by him during these years, may not have been used to point the advantages of the deeper form.

The dressed stone was obtained through a contract with William H. Harris, builder, and James Thom, stonecutter, from the Little Falls (New Jersey) quarries. The stone was to be delivered "so soon during the present ensuing spring as the opening of navigation on the Morris Canal will permit."⁵ The carpentry work also was done by separate contract. The Building Committee was most

⁵ Original contract, March 6, 1840.

conscientious, working with the trades individually rather than by general contract and closely watching materials and workmanship.

Papier mâché had been popularized in Europe during the eighteenth century, but in 1845 the application of the material to internal architectural decoration was patented by C. F. Bielefeld of London. It is very probable that the following letter was intended for him.

Mr. Belleyfield
London—Dear Sir

New York, Dec^r 24th 1840

I am the architect of Trinity Church which is now in progress of erection in this city, and am also building two other Gothic Stone Churches in this, and the adjacent city of Brooklyn,⁶ and having designed an escutcheon for the pews, your papier maché occurred to my mind as a suitable material from which an elegant and yet not expensive one might be formed.

Enclosed you will find a sketch with a description of the coulouring [*sic*], painting, and gilding r[e]quired, and you will confer a favour by informing me at your earliest convenience for what price each, you can furnish them according to pattern, packing, shipping, and all other expences till on shipboard included.

The two last named Churches will require about 350 to 400 of these escutcheons and there may be many uses to which as an architect I may be able to apply papier maché. I would therefore be glad to be instructed as to the mode of estimating the cost, whether by the pound or otherwise, so as to obviate the necessity of an application to you in each particular case, for information.

I have asked you to name the cost of an escutcheon *finished*, supposing the painting, numbering, &c. might be done for less with you than here; but as parties may prefer to have the painting done here, name also the cost of the *papier alone*.

Some few of your patterns are now in my possession, handed me by a friend to whom you gave them for the purpose of placing in the hands of some architect; but he had lost most of them before he met me, and you may therefore, if you please, send me a book of patterns, with pieces attached.

I enclose an engraving of Trinity Church,

& am Very respectfully
Your ob^t. S^t.

The stained glass was made on the spot, a shed being erected for that purpose on the land just behind the church proper to carry

⁶ Church of the Ascension, New York, and Christ Church, Brooklyn.

out the architect's designs. In itself, this was an innovation, since most of the churches before then had been content with plain glass. The sons of the architect used to come over occasionally to pick up stray bits that might be found lying around the premises; they made kaleidoscopes from the shards of colored glass. While the windows were being made, the architect chanced to buy a passion flower for his daughter's birthday. Family tradition has it that he made a drawing of this flower and used it in the chancel window.

Upjohn had already had some experience with organs. In 1835 he had made a plan for an organ for Appleton in Boston, and also one referred to in the account book as for the Boston Musical Society. There is also mention of an organ gallery for Dr. Wainwright in Trinity Church, Boston. In conjunction with, and at the invitation of, Henry Erben, he inspected on December 19 or 20, 1843, the large organ made for the Cathedral of Louisville. A memorandum of W. H. Harison, April 10, 1848, preserved in the parish records, tells of the organ for Trinity Church, New York.

The design and inscription were previously submitted to Mr. Erben and after some alterations of the latter at his suggestion met with his approval and Mr. Upjohn's drawing of the shield full size with a draft of the inscription were shewn to the building committee. The face of the shield is gilt and burnished and the lettering of the inscription being sunk into the metal is filled with black wax and then rubbed down to a smooth surface presenting a handsome contrast with the gold.

The older church had contained many commemorative tablets. Upjohn was naturally reluctant to replace them in the new church and yet realized that they must be preserved. They were therefore relegated to one of the subsidiary chambers. Other memorials were bound to be added from time to time and these were best placed elsewhere than in the body of the church, lest the lamentable condition of Westminster Abbey be duplicated on a small scale. One such, in fact, was under discussion while Trinity was being built—the monument to Mr. Bell for which Upjohn submitted an estimate of \$95.40 "exclusive of architects fees" on September 7, 1843.

While the spire was being built, the vestry were discussing the question of its proper termination. Today most Episcopalians would doubtless feel that nothing could be so suitable to that pur-

pose as the cross, the principal emblem of Christ. To the men of 1840, such a symbol smacked of Romanism which they feared and disliked. Many of the vestry preferred a secular weather vane. Upjohn's own ideas were rather definite. He therefore had a cross prepared on the ground and when the spire was completed with no specific directions to the contrary from the vestry, on his own authority had it set in place. He ordered the workmen to take down the scaffolding at once. By the time the hostile members of the vestry observed its presence, the architect was able to point out that a change would entail considerable expense, which the importance of the matter hardly merited. Apparently the financial argument carried conviction to those members of the vestry who had been opposed to the idea, since the cross is still there.⁷

The important commission for Trinity Church was too great a task for one man to handle alone, especially in view of what was expected of the architect at Trinity and in view of his other jobs. He had, therefore, many applications from draftsmen who were more or less known to him. Especially his Boston acquaintances tended to be interested. The closeness with which he was tied to Trinity made it difficult for him to form similar friendships at once on his arrival in New York. Such an application, dated May 13, 1840, arrived from Alpheus C. Morse. Evidently Morse was a young man who had worked for Upjohn in Boston as a draftsman. He adds this curious postscript to his application: "P. S. I beg leave to state that the progress made in my studies since I saw you has improved materially my drawing." Upjohn replied:

New York May 21/40

D^r Sir

Yours of the 13 came duly to hand. Pressure of business has prevented my answering it before. At present I have engagements with three assistants; one of them is a German; he draws my perspective views. I should like to have you with me provided I were able to make it an object worth your attention in a pecuniary point of view and which I fear I should not. As to the circumstances of others of the "profession" I know

⁷ Family tradition; the Vestry Minutes betray dissension in this matter but order the cross to be adopted, May 12, 1845.

nothing. I have understood that the profession in New York are at "sixes and sevens." I should like to hear from you.⁸

Yours truly
Rich Upjohn

Further letters passed to and fro, but at least at this time Morse did not get the position he wanted, perhaps because his training was not yet adequate and Upjohn could not then undertake the training of younger men as he did so frequently later. By 1842 matters may have altered somewhat, and Upjohn evidently expected Morse to come to New York when a letter arrived announcing the latter's intention of sailing for Italy. He asks that further letters be addressed to him care of H. Greenough, sculptor, Florence.

A similar case is that of Gridley Bryant, subsequently fairly well known as an architect. Though his letter has little to do with Upjohn, it throws much light on the art in Boston at that time.

Boston, April 20, 1841

Sir,

At the request of Capt. Parris I send enclosed, two volumes of books.

I take the liberty of giving you a few facts relative to the progress of Architecture in Boston, although possibly you may be as well informed as myself upon the subject. With the exception of the Custom House and Exchange there are no large buildings going up in the City; the former is progressing slowly, and from appearances will be completed in some three seasons more, the building as it is to [be] executed, will be a very different affair from the original design by Mr Young, which you may recollect was Ionic, instead of Doric as carried into effect, thinking you may not have seen any view of the building as it is to be completed I take the liberty of enclosing you one of the views published by Mr Young.

Our Merchants Exchange has been taken by contract by Mr Isaiah Rogers who I understand is to complete the whole in two years from this spring, the building is to be placed upon the lot of land in State Street which you recollect has stood vacant for so many years, the front on State Street will consist of six pilasters, resting upon a low basement and supporting a plain Entablature with a heavy blocking, the front entrance door Cap, as usual, will be ornamental, as also the caps to the windows. The Exchange Room will be in the rear, and as there will be no opportunity for light and air from the sides of the building, they will I presume depend upon skylights for the admission of the light. It is proposed to

⁸ Punctuation throughout is added.

TRINITY CHURCH

connect with the Exchange an *Eating House or Hotel*, the Dining Room and Kitchen of which I have been informed is to be placed in the Basement Story immediately *under* the Exchange Room, while the Lodging Rooms are to be located *over* the same and arranged round the Dome or Skylight of the Exchange Room; the front part of the building is to be arranged for Banks, Insurance offices &c.

The City have done nothing since Mr Eliot's resignation, except to alter the Old County Court into a "New City Hall" for which they have expended some \$20,000.—exclusive of the land on School Street purchased by Mr Eliot for *the* "New City Hall" for which \$60,000. was paid and which is now used for an Entrance from School Street being planted with trees, and arranged with walks, having an iron fence extending the whole length of land on School Street.

Capt. Parris informs me that you have the superintendence of three Churches in New York, and thinking it not impossible that you may wish for some assistance in drawing or writing, I wish to ask you whether or not such is the case, if so, I should like to have an opportunity with you, provided you did not have a preference for any one else, and we could agree upon terms &c.—I have managed to get a very good living so far, since I commenced for myself, but as you are well aware, it has been all plain work, & I wish for some opportunity, to be employed upon some large work, although I might receive less emolument for my services.

Please present my respects to Mrs Upjohn.

Very respectfully
Your obedt. servant
Gridley J. F. Bryant

During the 1830's Upjohn had worked either on a day by day basis, charging for the time that he spent on any particular job, or on a percentage of the cost. On the other hand, his relationship with Trinity was quite different and unusual. We have already seen that as early as May, 1839, Upjohn was working on a salary at \$200 a month. Apparently this earlier agreement was not sufficient to prevent his accepting other commissions, nor was its compensation enough to make such action unnecessary. The Building Committee evidently felt that the architect should devote all his time to his principal job, and in 1840 the relationship was adjusted.

Memorandum.

The Building Committee, under the Authority of the Vestry of Trinity Church, upon the application of the undersigned Richard Upjohn for an increase of his compensation as Architect and Superintendant of the new

Church Edifice in the City of New York, called Trinity Church, now in a course of erection, having lately come to a new agreement with him in respect to such his employment, and such agreement having gone into effect on the first day of March last, and being now in force, the following are hereby declared to be the terms and conditions thereof, viz:

The said Richard Upjohn, whilst so employed, is to devote his whole time care and services, in and about the construction of the said Edifice, except as is hereinafter specified, and all the plans, drafts, models designs and computations, heretofore made or hereafter to be made by him, whilst in such employ, are to be and remain the property of the Corporation of Trinity Church, and continue in their possession.

In Compensation of these services the said Richard Upjohn is to receive monthly, so long as he shall remain in such employ, the sum of two hundred and fifty dollars.

It is further understood that the said Richard Upjohn shall be at liberty to bestow so much of his time, not exceeding two hours per day, as may be necessary to carry out his architectural plans and designs, for the two Church Edifices, now in a course of erection—one by the Church of the Ascension in the City of New York, and the other by Christ Church in the City of Brooklyn.

In Testimony of which agreement the present memorandum thereof is made and signed this twenty ninth day of September in the year one thousand eight hundred and forty.

T. L. Ogden	} building Com ^e of Trinity Church
J. H. Lawrence	
Adam Tredwell	
Wm E Dunscomb	
Robert Hyslop	
Wm H. Harison	
Rich ^d Upjohn.	

A salary of \$3,000 a year in addition to his commissions from the other two churches may seem fairly generous, especially since his office in the cemetery must have been rent free and in view of the value of money at that time. Nevertheless, out of that sum he had to pay the salaries of his staff, at least three in number as seen in his letter to Morse. If he paid his draftsmen two dollars a day, roughly \$600 per year, the rate at which he worked for Parris in 1834 on the new Courthouse, Boston, and on the Navy Yard, Charlestown, he could have received no more than \$1,200 for his own time. That may have been enough when Trinity was taking most of his time and energy; yet as that design neared completion,

he could not but think of the future and feel that, however much Trinity might be adding to his reputation, it was high time to start establishing a wider practice than the strict terms of the agreement would permit. Well knowing that the committee would countenance greater freedom on his part only at a price, he wrote a letter suggesting a reduction of his salary.

Gent^a

One of the resolutions passed by the Building Committee on the 13th inst handed to me by the Chairman appoints you a Committee to Confer with me on the subject of a reduction in my salary as Architect and superintendant of Trinity Church and on that subject I address you. Some conversation passed between us on the last Committee day when I expressed my willingness to meet the views of the Committee on the score of reduction I therefore propose that my salary be reduced to twenty four hundred Dollars \$2400. per annum for the Coming Year and that a further reduction of four hundred Dollars \$400. be made on the 1st of January 1844 making my salary for said year Two thousand dollars \$2000. I take the opportunity to present to the Committee through you the following views. Hitherto I have rather avoided than sought occupation lest it might be imagined by the Committee, or others having less opportunity of judging, that such occupation might interfere with my duties at Trinity Church though in fact what I have done has proved a benefit by making me acquainted with the merits & demerits of workmen in their various branches, but hereafter I should wish it understood that I am to be at liberty to undertake the erection of any other buildings and the privilege of visiting the said buildings for the purpose of inspecting the work my absence not being more than three days at any one time and generally not more than one or two, meaning always that my first attention be given to Trinity Church where indeed my duty interest and reputation first call me. The reduction in my salary of six hundred dollars the Coming Year and One thousand Dollars in the Year 1844 will make this necessary and I have lately declined making designs for a Church (as I have in two other instances before) which had I known of the intended reduction I would not have done. I would also remark to the Committee that hitherto during the erection of the building I have designed and drawn a great number of plans many of which have been made as the progress of the works seemed to require and in anticipation of what I supposed would be required by the Committee and with the intention of making the details of the designs as clear and explanatory as could possibly be done so that the Committee should understand the nature of the respective designs and the amount of work delineated by them when

they were called upon to adopt a design which required to be executed immediately. In doing this however many designs and plans have been made which were not adopted and therefore not now necessary to the erection of the building. These plans together with those detailed plans of the building which have been and which may be adopted in the prosecution of the works I would like to be considered mine and when the Church is so far completed as will ensure no alterations in the design and construction of its several parts I will draw a set of Plans consisting of

- 1 A Ground Plan
- 2 Front Elevation
- 3 Rear "
- 4 Side "
- 5 Longitudinal Section
- 6 Transverse "

to be kept in the archives of the Church which will be of use in case of any repairs and alterations that may take place at any future time.

Your Most Obed Servt
Rich^d Upjohn

New York Dec 27 1843 [*sic*]

P. S. I beg leave to state that I shall not visit any other work if it should in any wise interfere with my arrangements at the Church

Clearly the reputation based on Trinity was already bearing fruit in the form of further commissions. Also important is the remark on the ownership of drawings. Though an architect may conceivably have owned his drawings during the previous decade, there is no evidence to prove that fact, and it is much more probable that drawings made for a job were normally considered the property of the client. The conception of drawings as instruments of service, and so as having their ownership vested in the architect, comes in for much discussion on the foundation of the American Institute of Architects some years later. This letter, and the discussions connected with it, resulted in a new contract between the architect and the Corporation. The letter was actually written in December, 1842, not 1843—obviously the date is a clerical error.

Memorandum of a further agreement between the same parties made this [left blank] day of January in the year one thousand eight hundred and forty three.

the above named Richard Upjohn is to continue during the mutual pleasure of both parties, in the employ and service of the Corporation of Trinity Church, as superintending Architect of the new Church Edifice

referred to in the foregoing Memorandum, under and subject to the following stipulations viz:

First. the said Richard Upjohn shall be at liberty during the continuance of this agreement, to accept employment as Architect of other buildings, but so as not to interfere with the due and efficient discharge and performance of his duties as superintending architect of the said Church Edifice, it being understood and expressly agreed that he is at all times to devote and bestow so much of his time attention, care and services, in and about the construction of the said Edifice, and in the making and furnishing of the requisite drafts, plans, models and designs for the various parts thereof in the course of its further progress, as may be necessary to or useful in the due and efficient discharge and performance of such his duties; and for this purpose he shall continue to occupy as the place of his business the office building now in the Church Cemetery, so as by his personal care, attention and supervision, to regulate direct and control, all the work going on in and about the said Edifice, and secure its completion in the most skillful substantial and economical manner; and that he is not to absent himself from the City of New York for more than four days in one month without the consent of the Building Committee of the Vestry of the said Corporation, who shall be charged with the erection of the said Edifice.

Second. the compensation of the said Richard Upjohn whilst and so long as he shall continue in the due and faithful discharge of the duties above mentioned, shall be one hundred and sixty six dollars and two thirds of a dollar per month, to commence from the first day of January instant, and to be paid monthly thereafter, it being understood mutually, that during this and the next year, if he shall so long continue by common consent in the employ of the Church, no increase of or deduction from this compensation is to be proposed by either party.

Third. All the plans, drafts, models, designs and computations heretofore made or hereafter to be made by the said Richard Upjohn whilst in the employ of the said Corporation, except as is hereinafter specified, shall on the completion of the said Edifice, be deemed his personal property, and be at his absolute disposal, provided always that the perspective drawings of the new Church Edifice, and of the old Edifice as formerly proposed to be altered, now in the said Office building are to remain there as the property of the said Corporation, and that a full and accurate ground plan of the new Edifice, and full and accurate plans and drawings of the elevations of the front, rear, and south sides of the new Edifice, and also longitudinal and transverse Sections thereof, in conformity with the actual construction of the Edifice and its various parts, when the same shall be finished and completed, are to be drawn, made, and furnished by the said Richard Upjohn to, and are to be and remain the

absolute property of, the said Corporation the whole to correspond in style with the plans and drawings already made and furnished by him and now in the said office.

In Testimony of which the present Memorandum is made and signed, the day and year above mentioned.

The Corporation of Trinity Church	
by T. L. Ogden	
Adam Tredwell	} building Com ^e
Robert Hyslop	
Wm E Dunscomb	
Wm H. Harison	
Rich ^d Upjohn	

The importance of Trinity Church naturally caused many to want reproductions of the design, even while the building was in the course of construction, not to mention the possibility that such prints could be readily used to further the process of raising funds. The earliest is the request of the Apollo Association for the promotion of fine arts in the United States. This letter of September 8, 1841, asks for one of the designs for the fall exhibition, to be held about the middle of the month. It also refers to a similar request made a year before which had been declined. Probably the architect had felt in 1840 that the design was not yet sufficiently matured to warrant its exhibition to the general public. That it should be requested by the Association at all demonstrates the interest that was aroused in New York by the new building.

For publicity purposes, it was clearly to Upjohn's advantage to have reproductions available. It is consequently of great interest to find letters from publishers and others. J. Gregg Wilson procured a wood engraving of Trinity Church from the architect on July 13, 1840, to be used by him for one week's publication in the newspaper *Brother Jonathan*, but he was not permitted to publish the cut until the building was completed. One further instance may be cited, that of E. Palmer.

55 Ludlow St. NY

Dr Sir

I have consulted Mr. Palmer on the subject of Lithographing Trinity Church & beg to submit the following proposition which perhaps may meet your views as being less expense or risk to you.

I will publish the Drawing conjointly with you, furnishing you 100

impressions for your own separate use & benefit, charging you Seventy Dollars, you allowing me an equal share of the profits arising from the sale of and [any?] *further number* that may be issued after deducting the expense of Printing & paper. If you entertain the idea I should like to commence immediately as I shall be fully occupied after the next month.

I am Dr Sir
Yours Most Respect
E. Palmer
13 March 1846

The new church was dedicated with some ceremony on Thursday, May 21, 1846. Upjohn walked in the consecration procession after the rector and the teachers and scholars of Trinity School and just before the vestry.⁹ It is but natural that Philip Hone as a member of the vestry should leave us a description of the ceremony in his diary.

This day being the Feast of the Ascension, agreeably to the notice given and the arrangements made, the new Trinity Church, the pride of the Episcopalians and the glory of our city, was consecrated to the service of Almighty God. I was one of the committee of arrangements, and have been for the last two or three weeks most sedulously employed every day in the discharge of the duties of this office. The clergy, the rectors, wardens, and vestrymen of the several Episcopalian churches, the members of the Theological Seminary, the present and former mayors, the scholars of Trinity School, and invited guests, assembled at ten o'clock, at Mr. Bunker's, in Broadway, and marched in procession to the church. At eleven o'clock the grand and solemn assemblage, preceded by Right Rev. Bishop McCoskry, who officiated as bishop of the diocese during the suspension of Bishop Onderdonk, entered during the impressive chanting of one hundred and fifty clergymen, in white surplices and scarfs, followed by a most dignified and respectable body of laymen. The consecration service was performed by the Bishop, assisted by a number of prominent ministers; and the splendid vaultings of the solemn temple resounded with the notes of the grand organ and with the sounds of praise and adoration from the voices of the devout assemblage.¹⁰

Little need be added of the subsequent history of Trinity. The interior of the chancel carried the theme of dim religious light rather further than was necessary, and therefore the architect made

⁹ William Berrian, *An Historical Sketch of Trinity Church, New York*, p. 349.

¹⁰ Allan Nevins, ed., *Diary of Philip Hone* (May 21, 1846), II, 764-65.

a few minor alterations in the chancel of the church in 1849-50. This same criticism, brought forward by the vestry of Trinity on this occasion, could be leveled at many later buildings by the same architect. Though admirable in proportion and in their adaptation to the liturgical needs of the High Church party, they sacrificed illumination to the ideals of devotion and sanctity. The addition of an organ room for Trinity in 1864 entailed the cutting through of an arch from the chancel. Still later, in 1876, F. C. Withers made alterations to the east, after the retirement of Richard Upjohn from active practice. Finally, the chapel of All Saints' by Thomas Nash was added to the northwest corner of the church in 1913.

For all its importance, Trinity had less direct influence on the architecture of the country than might be supposed. In that respect it is like the Houses of Parliament. Of course, there are instances where its influence is unmistakable. Trinity Church, Geneva, New York, followed its lead very closely indeed, many of the details being taken over almost verbatim from one to the other. Such instances are exceptional rather than the rule. Even the style, Perpendicular, of Trinity was rapidly abandoned in favor of one of the earlier forms of Gothic or of various continental styles. This was also the case with the Houses of Parliament, which are roughly contemporary. The newer taste represents a growth of the feeling that the older forms of Gothic are somehow purer and more natural—a favorite term at that time—than the last and therefore decadent phase of the style. Even in Upjohn's own work there is a marked decline in the use of Perpendicular during the building of Trinity. Although both of the churches which were rising with Trinity had many elements of the later style, neither represents as complete and pure a version as Trinity itself.

The *Ecclesiologist*, though it laments the sacrifice of orientation, is able to praise the church as a whole in 1850,¹¹ but by 1853 *Putnam's Monthly*¹² takes it to task for lack of originality and still

¹¹ The *Ecclesiologist*, X (1850), 195, quoting from the *New York Ecclesiologist*, I (Oct., 1848), 34-38, which unaccountably describes the spire as hexagonal! It is, of course, octagonal in plan.

¹² II (Sept., 1853), 235, 238-42.

more significantly and justly for its adoption of plaster vaulting, a palpable sham which is most unlike the architect. Probably Upjohn would have liked to vault the church in stone, but, that proving too expensive, he would have preferred the trussed roof which some of his sketches show. Pressure from the vestry is no doubt responsible for the present deception. The great majority of his churches are wooden-roofed, with the carpentry frankly exposed to view. Whether one considers frank expression of construction an important matter or not, the fact remains that with few exceptions Upjohn's work is characterized by its straightforward handling of materials and structural forces.

Another obvious reason for the relatively slight direct influence of Trinity is to be found in its cost. This very wealthy corporation could do things which were clearly beyond the reach of other parishes in the country. Even important city churches could rarely afford the sum of \$100,000, which is less than the cost of Trinity. Something more modest was bound to be the rule. It is therefore in a more general way that we must seek the effect of Trinity on American architecture. A new standard is set for knowledge of the medieval, making it far more difficult to accept the Georgian Gothic or castellated styles which had flourished before. Whether such correctness, such understanding, is more desirable than quaintness or than the working out of a vernacular is beside the point. The country at large at that time certainly preferred historic accuracy. Moreover, Trinity set the stamp of ecclesiastical authority, so to speak, on the Gothic style. Hereafter although churches might occasionally be built in one of the Classic derivative styles, at least in the Episcopal communion that was far less likely to be the case. The First Baptist Church in Lawrence, Massachusetts, was dedicated in 1850 and is of the traditional "white type"—eighteenth-century mass with Greek Revival detail. A modified Classic was used in the Arlington Street Church in Boston by Gilman in 1860. Many other examples could be cited. But as a whole Trinity encouraged the tendency to consider a medieval, and especially a Gothic, style as the only valid form for ecclesiastical work.

Naturally the fame and success of Trinity established securely

Upjohn's position as architect. The fact that that Corporation could and did give material financial assistance to many a small struggling parish upstate probably helped to spread his fame. Even though many of these missions started almost literally on a shoestring, they would be likely to apply for plans, where they could not afford full architectural services, to him who had received the stamp of approval of the mother church. Moreover, where Trinity had no direct contact, the acclaim of a great metropolitan building frequently brings a reputation and further commissions, just as the winner of an important and widely publicized competition finds other jobs flowing into his office as soon as his success has been announced. Except for writing, the fame of his accomplishment is the only form of advertisement normally open to the architect. Naturally, therefore, as soon as Upjohn was in a position to accept it, work poured into his office.

. 5 .

EARLY MATURITY—THE FORMATION OF A STYLE

THOUGH Upjohn had many jobs during his Boston period, they were for the most part unimportant. To give some idea of the earlier experiments in which he began to work out his ideas in architecture required some search for significant buildings designed by him. But if there was a dearth of large undertakings before 1840, the converse is true after that date. To discuss, or even to mention, all his jobs from then until the time of his trip abroad in 1850 is not only useless but impossible. A stringent selection must be made from the mass of material available.

Obviously during the early years while Trinity was building, the strictness of his contract prevented his accepting a wide practice. By the second contract in 1843, considerably more latitude was allowed and advantage at once taken of it. His really extensive practice, however, was undertaken only after the completion of Trinity Church in 1846. He had, to be sure, as early as 1842 felt sufficiently confident of his position in New York and of his future to buy the plot of ground at 296 Clinton Street, Brooklyn, and build the house in which he was to live for so many years.

The contract of 1840, with the specific exceptions of Christ Church, Brooklyn, and the Church of the Ascension, New York, forbade any additional work. There occurred in 1841-42 the matter of Bethesda Church, Saratoga Springs, New York, for which a design was sent, and from 1840 on intermittent correspondence connected with the alterations of the Van Rensselaer mansion in Albany. Just how he reconciled even these two commissions with the terms of his contract is not clear. Certainly he was unable to

superintend the progress of these works, only one of which was indubitably executed after his plans—the Van Rensselaer house. Probably he made the necessary drawings for them in the evenings or in the two hours daily which he might devote to his other work. Both of them were small commissions on which he may not have spent much time.

In 1839 the ten-year-old Church of the Ascension on Canal Street, east of Broadway, New York, was destroyed by fire.¹ The cornerstone of the new church was laid March 19, 1840,² even before that for Trinity itself. By 1840, however, the design of Trinity had already progressed sufficiently far to make clear the revolutionary nature of the architect's intentions. Evidently the rector of the Church of the Ascension, Dr. Eastburn, had come to know the winning ways of Richard Upjohn and feared, justifiably as the story of the deep chancel of Trinity or that of the cross atop its spire was to show, that he would be likely to put through his ideas for the new church unless definite steps were taken to prevent him. Being strongly convinced of the virtue of Low Church principles, the rector himself purchased the land immediately behind the church in order to foil any attempt to introduce a deep chancel like that at Trinity. Consequently the new church on the corner of Fifth Avenue and Tenth Street is less advanced than Trinity insofar as its plan is concerned.

Like Trinity, the entrance is through the single tower in the center of the façade, leading to a three-aisled interior (Fig. 17) which had a clearstory and galleries.³ The design lacks the liturgical character that forms the most significant of Trinity's contributions to American architecture. Nor is the style of the Church of the Ascension so pure as that of the more famous edifice. The simple braced roof with its four centered arches carrying a flat ceiling can be paralleled in many churches of the Perpendicular period in England, and in its directness it is perhaps superior to the false vault of Trinity, though far less imposing in effect. These braces or

¹ New York *Tribune*, February 27, 1927, Sec. III, p. 4.

² E. Winchester Donald, *Fifty Years of Parish Life*, pp. 8 ff.

³ New York *Tribune*, *loc. cit.* The galleries were removed, 1885–89, by McKim, Mead, and White.

trusses are carried on stone wall-shafts which rest on corbels carved in the form of heads, a favorite Upjohn motive. The simple, membered piers with moulded capitals is another device which, with variations, runs through the entire course of his career.

But if the piers and trusses may best be described as Perpendicular, the very plain tracery of the aisle windows and the rather personal (and not too successful) form of the belfry windows are more closely allied to the Decorated style. The boldest feature of the building is the tower (Fig. 18), its corners buttressed but rising foursquare, with no offsets at all to interrupt the severity of its lines. Such a device is extremely unusual in Gothic architecture. The great Bell Harry of Canterbury has, to be sure, no offsets in its buttresses, but that is an isolated and remarkable case—one, moreover, in which the tower rises above the crossing of the church rather than directly from the ground and in which the detail is, of course, far richer. The avoidance of pinnacles on the body of the church, the very plain ones, with battlements between, on the tower, the rugged simplicity of the windows, and the total avoidance of applied decoration produce an impression of almost Puritan austerity, though without losing the churchly aspect. This desire to avoid display as inconsistent with the sacred purpose of the structure recurs again and again in Upjohn's later work.

The almost contemporary Christ Church in Brooklyn is in many ways similar to the Church of the Ascension. The cornerstone of this building was laid with due ceremony on June 26, 1841,⁴ and the edifice was consecrated in July of the following year. It also is a three-aisled church with a single western tower, a mixture of Early English and Perpendicular in style. Though the greater proportional height of the interior (Fig. 19) with its hammerbeam trusses is more churchly, the retention of the shallow chancel and the presence of balconies (later removed) show that the adoption of the more ecclesiological features of his mature style was gradual rather than abrupt.

The somewhat heavy trusses and the woodwork generally are prophetic in the importance they give to wood even when the

⁴ Copy of the document which was deposited in the cornerstone by E. W. Dunham, vestryman.

body of the church is made of stone. Did his early training breed in him so thorough a knowledge of woodworking as to prejudice him in its favor and thereby impel him to make it a feature of his interiors? Certainly it became so in his fully developed work. As in the Church of the Ascension, the trusses rest on the wall shafts which are in this instance free of the wall, with a consequent loss of strength. The same type of corbels, carved as heads, support these shafts, again with some stylization of manner. These heads were in part modeled after some members of his family, if tradition is to be trusted.

Two points in this interior are exceptional in his work. The balcony joins the piers with no visible recognition of the fact—there is no supporting element to fix them in position, so to speak. It may also be unfortunate that they should be so placed as to divide the shafts in half, though the height of the arches minimizes this somewhat theoretical point. The clearstory which is not a clearstory is hardly like Upjohn. Externally (Fig. 20) the church is covered with a roof of single slope. Such a system postulates a similar treatment of the interior. Actually the ceilings of the aisles are of a different pitch and at another level from the roof of the nave, which follows the exterior lines of the building. The result is an apparent clearstory above the nave arcade, with sexfoil openings which lead nowhere. It seems probable that this discrepancy in design was recognized by him and that the attempts to correct it brought him to adopt the very characteristic double-pitch roof within and without.

At the time that it was built, Christ Church was generally considered the finest in either Brooklyn or New York. Trinity, of course, had not been completed at that time, and by comparison with the Church of the Ascension it is far less severe, even genial in impression. Upjohn was always closely associated with the building. He bore his share in its expenses by giving his architectural services, for which the vestry presented him with a life deed to one of the pews. Here he worshipped for years, serving as vestryman from 1843 to 1847 and apparently as architectural adviser, in connection with various chapels or missions supported by Christ Church.

After these two churches occurs the gap of approximately two years due to his absorption in Trinity. Some of the ensuing commissions were small, and like St. Thomas's Church, Newark, Delaware, were the direct consequence of recommendations by Dr. Wainwright. This little edifice measured only thirty-five feet by forty-five feet and cost \$2,000. The original Church of the Epiphany in Washington, D. C., was built in 1843 by him, again as a missionary parish.

Dr. Potts's Church on University Place and Tenth Street, now torn down, was Presbyterian. In sectarian churches the ecclesiological arrangements proper to an Episcopal church need not be considered. Hence the absence of a chancel and the pulpit on the axis of the nave were quite normal (Fig. 21). The same prominent woodwork was evident as in the two previous buildings, and the gallery committed the same error that marred Christ Church, Brooklyn. Dr. Potts's Church returned to the full clearstory with paired, cusped windows. The style had now begun to adopt elements of the Decorated, such as the solid clustered piers and the cusped tracery in the windows.

It would be convenient, if somewhat pedantic, to be able to say that Upjohn would not use the Gothic style for non-Catholic buildings. That he was not too well disposed toward the various Protestant sects and that he became still less so as time went on is undoubtedly true. He seems to fight shy of the Gothic style in their buildings, as though he felt that they had no rights in it, which, of course, is true in the sense that none of these sects were formed earlier than the sixteenth century, by which time the Renaissance had generally replaced the Gothic. Nevertheless, he did use Gothic for them occasionally, as Dr. Potts's Church showed. The original sketch (Fig. 22) is signed and dated February 12th, 1844. Perhaps the curved parapets above the aisles may represent a modification introduced by him, less with any desire for originality than to distinguish the building in appearance from the (to him) legitimate churches of the Episcopal communion. Possibly the Church of the Pilgrims in Brooklyn with its curious pagoda-like spire (now destroyed) may be explained on the same ground. This rather

ugly solution was, however, the inspiration of the Berkeley Street Congregational Church in Boston, by Towle.

The First Parish Church, Brunswick, Maine (Figs. 23, 24), is also Gothic, in this instance with nothing exceptional in style. The parish records show that Richard Upjohn was authorized to proceed on February 15, 1845, with the plans that he had drawn for the new church and that the church was dedicated March 18, 1846. Upjohn was paid \$250 for his plans of this \$10,000 edifice, only two and one-half percent. The low figure makes it seem improbable that full architectural services were required, though with the considerable amount of work he was doing in Brunswick it is likely that he had opportunity to inspect the work from time to time.

The church consists of nave and aisles, transepts, and a chancel of one bay but with the pulpit at the front of the chancel on axis. Galleries are confined to the transepts and the west end of the nave. A spire (later destroyed) was added to the single tower in 1848, but it was probably intended from the first. As an early example of the board and batten church, and a particularly large one, this structure gains importance. Naturally the three-aisled plan makes it seem very different from the churches of this construction later published in *Upjohn's Rural Architecture*, but the changes are those of extent rather than of type and principle. The external woodwork throughout is simple in detail, the water-table, for example, coming to a sharp point with a sloping under-surface which must defeat the structural purpose of that feature.

Though bare of decoration, the carpentry of the interior is disturbingly complicated. The wooden piers are quite properly light in proportion, but they support a welter of arches and hammer-beam trusses which cry aloud for simplification. It is not that any features are introduced solely for adornment—on the contrary, the church is rather barren and bleak than overrich. One feels, however, that further study could somehow have found a less elaborate system. In fact, the interior is as complex as the diagram of an organic compound. If our supposition that Upjohn merely supplied the original plans is correct, it may mean that the church only partially represents his ideas.

In one further respect the Brunswick church is important his-

torically. The roof is of the double-pitch form, which we may call a reversed gambrel for want of a better term; this he was later to adopt with considerable regularity for his three-aisled churches. The difference in pitch indicates the plan quite clearly and simply and is not an unattractive form when well used. Generally the height of the aisle walls corresponds to that of the nave arcade. Consequently a stage occurs between the apex of those arches and the lower edge of the nave roof which reflects the pitch of roof over the aisles. The difficulty at Brunswick lies in his tentative and fumbling adoption of the scheme. The angle of the reversed gambrel is not placed at the junction of the aisles and nave where it logically belongs but some feet further in, over the ends of the hammerbeams. This accounts for much of the confusion of arches and braces, struts and hammerbeams. A comparison with Grace Church, Brooklyn (Fig. 28), shows that many of these members are superfluous and in no way inherent in the form.

One further result of this scheme is an inevitably dark interior. Windows can be placed in the outer walls or introduced as dormers. The former are usually inadequate in themselves to light the building, and the latter solution destroys much of the external effectiveness of the roof line. Richard Upjohn evidently felt that bright illumination in churches was unnecessary and perhaps even undesirable, because it tended to detract from their atmosphere of prayer. In any case, though dormers sometimes appear in churches of this type, they are rarely large enough either to destroy the beauty or to be effective solutions of the lighting problem.

Grace Church, Providence, on the corner of Westminster and Mathewson Streets, though contemporary in erection was earlier in conception than the Brunswick church. It seemed better, however, to consider the important sectarian churches together. Plans were submitted by both Richard Upjohn and Russell Warren, a member of the church who had designed its previous quarters.⁵ After some discussion, Upjohn's scheme was adopted because it proved more economical. The cornerstone was laid April 8, 1845, and the church consecrated June 2, 1846.

⁵ Henry Barrett Huntington, *A History of Grace Church in Providence, Rhode Island*, pp. 50 ff.

Its date makes the retention of a low clearstory a feature to be expected. As the aisle roof is very nearly flat, the clearstory hardly tells on the exterior. Internally (Fig. 26) the church is strikingly similar to Dr. Potts's Church. Precisely the same type of arched braces with cusps support the roof, the clearstory windows are paired lancets, transepts are absent, and the piers are not unlike though more delicate in design. On the other hand, the liturgical arrangements are of course made consonant with Episcopalian usage rather than showing the Presbyterian disposition of the east end. Fortunately galleries are omitted, to the immense gain of the interior. The greater sense of spaciousness in Grace Church is due in part to this omission, in part to the smaller scale of the piers, and finally to the chancel arch. The original chancel attained the considerable depth of seventeen feet, but it has been remodeled and deepened still more.

Externally Grace Church follows the rendered drawing (Fig. 25), without the traceried parapet and with certain changes in the spire and tower. All these modifications are in the direction of greater simplicity of design and perhaps of economy. Unlike the previous buildings considered, the tower is placed on the angle rather than in the center of the façade. To say that this is due to the corner site may be true, though both the Church of the Ascension and Christ Church, Brooklyn, were also placed on corner lots. Perhaps in this instance the rather narrow streets dictated such an arrangement. Even now one cannot get any really satisfactory general views of the building; and had the tower been placed axially, it must have been visible only in very sharp foreshortening. At the same time another explanation is possible—that the increasing admiration for asymmetry in the Gothic Revival may have led to the solution. Though this consideration probably did influence him in some buildings of later date, it is less likely to have been a determining factor here.

Grace Church, Brooklyn, on the corner of Hicks Street and Grace Court, was organized as a parish in May, 1847, and the cornerstone laid on June 29 of the same year. Evidently the wealthy men of the parish assumed the task of financing the structure, for the stone building was sufficiently completed to permit

services to be held in December, 1848, though the service of consecration took place only on June 26, 1849.⁶ Had the tower which was planned for the southwest corner of the building been carried out, the exterior (Fig. 27) would be more successful.⁷ Its absence deprives the church to some extent of direction in design, though the proportions are very just, the random ashlar walls are well handled, and that austerity of form which marked some of his earlier churches is eliminated. The increased grace and elegance are due in part to the traceried parapet, a device planned, but not executed, for Grace Church, Providence. The style has become curvilinear Decorated or, as the *Ecclesiologist* calls it, "Middle Pointed."

The interior (Fig. 28) has now become entirely of the type Upjohn used quite steadily thereafter for his larger city churches. That type has three aisles without galleries save perhaps at the rear, a deep chancel, often a lack of transepts, and a reversed gambrel roof with somewhat complex woodwork. Especially characteristic are the small arches above the nave arcade which fill the space in that plane corresponding to the pitch roof over the aisles. The precise form of the roof trusses may vary in this scheme; often the hammer-beam is adopted, as in this instance, whereas elsewhere an arch braced roof is introduced. The way for this standard type had been prepared in Grace Church, Providence, and almost adopted in Brunswick; it appears fully developed in Grace Church, Brooklyn. To say that that building is the first may not be strictly accurate, since St. James's, New London, was begun slightly earlier, but it is the first of the metropolitan churches to work out the pattern fully.

St. James's, New London (Figs. 29, 30), had its cornerstone laid on November 3, 1847.⁸ The designs for it, however, had been begun at least a year before, since the office records show that plans were taken on October 21, 1846, by C. A. Lewis, who acted with the rector of St. James's, Robert A. Hallam, to procure an architect for that building. It was not consecrated until June 11,

⁶ *Grace Church, Brooklyn Heights: Semi-Centennial, 1847-1897.*

⁷ See the original perspective in the possession of the church.

⁸ Frances Manwaring Caulkins, *History of New London, Connecticut*, p. 594.

1850. Internally the church demands no particular comments since it adds nothing to what has already been observed in connection with other buildings. The trusswork is similar to that in Grace Church, Providence, but the system is rather that of Grace Church, Brooklyn. One feature of the plan should be observed—that the aisles continue beyond the transepts and flank the chancel. Externally the asymmetrical placing of the tower corresponds to the location of that at Grace Church, Providence, but the broached and crocketed spire is less severe. The *Ecclesiologist*⁹ takes the church to task for the bare and ineffective treatment of the west front, a criticism which it levels generally at the work of this architect and with some reason. That feature is undoubtedly the least successful part of the design. The monument of Bishop Seabury, first bishop of the Episcopal Church in America, is placed in the north chancel aisle; it was designed in March, 1849, with the seal of the diocese of Connecticut used as a motive.

The correspondence on St. James's, though one-sided in that only the letters from the rector are preserved, throws further light on Upjohn's ability to get what he considered right in the churches he designed and on his High Church beliefs. These two letters speak for themselves.

New London, Apr 12. 1850

Dear Sir,

I just discover that you have provided a desk for the Church which will be of no more use than the fifth wheel of a coach. Unhappily I did not observe it until all the parts were made and ready to put together, so that time and labor have been thrown away. Because it is perfectly certain that the desk is useless, and I have ordered the work upon it to be suspended. To prevent all mistake, I mean the desk on the south side at which the Prayers are to be said. Knowing my perfect contempt and detestation of the abominable nonsense that is now infesting the Church, I must say I am indignant at your course. I *will* not use a lectern, and I *will* not hold a book in my hand. I want a good serviceable Reading Desk, big enough to answer the purpose for which it is intended. The conclusion of the whole matter is, that the desks both must come off the Chancel floor, and one desk be erected in front of the Chancel pointing west, not less than six feet in width, three feet, six inches high from the floor on which the minister stands, with a board in front wide enough to hold a folio Bible of

⁹ XIII (1851), 269.

the largest sort, and a folio Prayer Book, a decidedly larger thing than that in Mr Morgan's Church. I have no idea of being pinched and plagued all my days for looks in a Church in which there are acres of waste room. When I very reluctantly consented to putting the desk on the chancel floor, I did not foresee such a result, but the matter is now settled definitively. A church is a thing to use and not a thing to look at. As we have no time to lose I beg you will provide what I want with the least possible delay.

I remain
yours truly
Robert A. Hallam.

New London, Apr. 12, 1850

Dear Sir,

As I have made up my mind to have my own way in reference to the remaining arrangements of the Church, I may as well make thorough work of it. I insist then on having a reading *pew*; that is to say, that the desk shall have a *back, seat and doors*. I have always very much disliked the open platforms which have of late come in vogue like that at Norwich. The exposure of the person is to me very awkward and disagreeable; and I do not choose, if I wish to sit down, to be obliged to parade to a stall. I conclude not to have a *Credence*. It is a perfectly useless thing; at least it would be to *me*, as I should never use it. The authority for it is found in the Rubric only by implication; and if ever usage may abrogate a Rubric, and I am intirely [sic] of opinion that it may, the authority of this is null, for such a thing as a Credence was never till within a very few years heard of in Connecticut since the first missionary set his foot in Stratford. We have done without one over a hundred and twenty five year in this parish, and we will do without one at least till my rectorship ends. I will not have one. Again, the Bishop's chair *must* be on the *north* side of the altar, and face not *in*, towards *it*, but *out* towards the *people*. I do not know what mediaeval usage may recommend, and care as little; but I do know what propriety and common sense dictate, and to that I will adhere.

Now these, my dear Sir, are not sudden impulses. They are the convictions, I have had from the beginning, but which in a foolish good nature I have suffered to be overborne. And very likely I might not have roused myself to maintain them, if I had not this morning, luckily as I must think, stumbled on that absurdity of a Prayer Desk, and opened my eyes to the fact that I was being insensibly led into the very things of which I have been the unflinching enemy. I beg you will not say one word in the way of remonstrance, for it will have a[s] little effect as an attempt to turn the course of the North River. I am angry, I confess; but quite as much with

myself as with you, at my own *weakness* and *folly* in suffering myself to be led in a way which I abhor. What I *can* do to get myself out of it now I *will*; and what it is too late to do, look at hereafter with a due though fruitless repentance, and try to make it a warning against future offences.

With sincere regard,
Yours,
Robert A. Hallam.

The end of the letter removes the suspicion that the architect was using underhand methods to obtain for the church the liturgical disposition he felt it should have. Evidently his arguments, based in all probability on medieval ritual, had wrung a reluctant consent from the rector, who was a man of Low Church ideas, and the architect had made the most of this permission. It is significant to read in the *Ecclesiologist*¹⁰ that the credence was installed for all the rector's objections, and it can be supposed that in the matter of the placing of the Bishop's chair also the architect won out. The *Ecclesiologist* makes no mention of it, and the editors of that journal would be most unlikely to overlook such an opportunity for censure. The rector may have had his way with the prayer desk, but it was placed to one side rather than in the center.

The "Mr. Morgan's Church" referred to is Christ Church, Norwich; the cornerstone was laid August 31, 1846, and the church was consecrated in 1849.¹¹ The desire to retain proper orientation on a plot which slopes down sharply to the River Thames accounts for the entrance in the tower, which is placed on the east end of the south aisle, next to the chancel. The most remarkable feature of this church is the chapel, added about 1850 to the west; it takes the form of an apse and opens into the body of the church, so as to form an extension of the possible seating area of the main building, itself very large. Its disposition makes it a forerunner of the so-called Akron plan, of unlamented memory. The poorest feature of that type, its unecclesiastical character, is avoided in this instance, however.

¹⁰ XIII (1851), 269.

¹¹ Frances Manwaring Caulkins, *History of Norwich, Connecticut*, p. 457, gives the date of consecration as 1848, though parish records say April, 1849.

Quite another class of work is represented in the chapel and library for Bowdoin College. Richard Upjohn was first consulted in this matter by President Woods as early as 1844, and work was begun the following year, but the building was not finally completed until 1855.¹² Externally the Bowdoin chapel (Fig. 31) shows a nave with clearstory, twin towers on the façade, and aisles. Internally the aisles were designed as classrooms; the nave (Fig. 32) was in the form of collegiate chapels, familiar in many English colleges, and was obviously appropriate for the use to which it was to be put. If not the first adoption in America of this plan, in which the seats line the sides of the chapel, facing one another, it is certainly the most famous early example.¹³

The choice of German Romanesque for the building is also most unusual. So far as is known, Upjohn had not been to Germany at this date (though he did go before the completion of the edifice) and must therefore have taken his cue for it from books. The style is not so detailed as to render this improbable, nor is it a very strict application. Windows and doors are round-arched throughout, with a complete avoidance even of mouldings to soften the austere lines. The slender towers with gables, the lines of which are marked by arched corbel tables on each face of the tower, and a bare four-sided spire above are principally responsible for the German feeling of the work. Though no precisely similar example can be cited, the type is generally paralleled by St. Georg, Limburg, and somewhat more vaguely, by many other Rhenish structures. Though just in proportion, the almost total absence of lighter features, coupled with the cold granite walls, produces a result which is severe to the point of being forbidding.

The library contained in the same structure is placed to the rear, extending originally the full width of the building, octagonal piers at each side supporting an arcade which holds the clearstory wall at

¹² L. C. Hatch, *History of Bowdoin College*, pp. 414-21.

¹³ Old Gore Hall, long the library of Harvard College, and the old Yale library, Austin Hall, were both derived from King's College Chapel, Cambridge, in general form, but neither of these, nor the old chapel of New York University, show the characteristic internal collegiate arrangement.

this point. The piers are now painted marbleized yellow with black veins, and a part of the ceiling, apparently original, has small arabesques in the corners of the square panels.

In 1846 Upjohn made designs (Figs. 33, 34) for the new Harvard chapel in Cambridge. A full set of presentation drawings of this project has fortunately been preserved. Once more the plan of the chapel proper is collegiate, but instead of the twin spires of Bowdoin a single tower is set to one side of the façade, nicely balanced by an arcade and low tower on the opposite side and apsidal end of the building. The main masses of the building and tower are simple and strong, but the complex smaller masses of the façade introduce a disturbing change of scale. That same lack of consistent scale mars the perspective of the interior, where the vault appears to be sustained by great enriched corbels.

The architect's reputation might not have been much increased had the building followed these drawings. To be sure, considerable changes of design might have been introduced in further studies if the scheme had been accepted. The renderings themselves, in full and fairly naturalistic color (at least for the interior and exterior perspectives), are altogether captivating. Again the style is curious and unexpected at this time. The later medieval is forsaken in preference to an Italian style, notably in the tower, which can be paralleled in many examples of Roman churches. One expects Upjohn to adopt Italian forms after his trip to Italy in 1850, but their occasional use before then can hardly be described as customary.

Possibly his failure to win this commission may be due to the curiously illuminating controversy which he had with the Federal Street Church in Boston, the present Arlington Street Church. This body was considering a lot on Beacon Street, near Somerset Street, with the intention of building a new church. A committee appointed to wait on Richard Upjohn did so in New York about the middle of October. He went to Boston in the first week of November, though not necessarily for that purpose alone, and while there looked over the proposed lot. Apparently he found it satisfactory, since he left the impression on the minds of the committee

that he would design their church. On his return he thought the matter over more fully and perhaps discussed it with some of his close friends among the clergy. In any case, he came to the conclusion that he, as a staunch Episcopalian and consequently Trinitarian, could not design a building to serve as a place of worship for a body whose beliefs were so at variance with his own. Had he merely written to decline the commission, no incident would have arisen; but he was so unwise as to explain fully his reasons for so doing. Inevitably a storm of criticism, pro and con, and of ridicule greeted the receipt of this letter. The newspapers made the most of their opportunity.

The Boston *Christian Register* for Saturday, November 28, 1846, printed the following article:

A CONSCIENTIOUS ARCHITECT

Two or three weeks since a committee of the Federal Street Society called on Mr. Upjohn the architect, who at their request examined a lot with reference to building a Church upon it. He approved of the site, and the understanding was, that he was to furnish a plan for the Church. But as nothing was heard from him after his return to New York, a member of the Committee wrote to him, asking for the plan. To this, Mr. Upjohn replied, that after having anxiously and prayerfully considered the matter, he had come to the conclusion, that he could not conscientiously furnish a plan for a Unitarian Church, he being an Episcopalian.

Whether Mr. Upjohn came to this conclusion so at variance with his previous conduct and character, from his own reflections, or through the influence of Bishop Onderdonk or any other of his spiritual advisers, we, of course, cannot know. He may be conscientious in his conclusions. We are not disposed to question his motives. Yet we cannot but think; that his conduct, so far as it has any influence, will injure the sect, with which he is connected, and by creating a mingled feeling of indignation, pity and contempt among Unitarians, will check the favorable feelings, which many among us entertain towards the forms of Episcopacy, and repel them from a Church, which, with all its apparent liberality, is in fact so bigoted and narrow. Nothing will strengthen our denomination so much, as this kind of insult.

In the Daily Advertiser of Monday (Nov. 23) we find the following curious correspondence. Perhaps this is better than a more serious way of treating the matter.

CONSCIENCE

To Mr. Solomon Sly, Architect,
New York:

Boston, Oct. 20 1846.

Dear Sir:—

I have determined to erect a house upon the lot which I showed you the other day, and will thank you to furnish me, at your earliest convenience, with a plan of a building suitable for the proposed location, and an estimate of cost.

I am, &c.,
Timothy Cummins.

To Timothy Cummins, Esq.,
Boston:

New York,
Oct. 25, 1846.

Dear Sir:—

I have received yours of the 20th, and have deeply pondered its contents, with an earnest and religious desire to do right. I understand your letter fully, so far as it goes, but you will pardon me for saying that it is, in one material respect, strikingly deficient. You make no allusion to your creed, and state nothing which gives me the least clue to your religious opinions. Be good enough to supply this defect and oblige

Yours, &c.,
S. Sly.

Boston,
Oct. 28th, 1846.

Mr. S. Sly:

Dear Sir:—

Yours of the 25th is at hand. Pardon the omission in my last. I approve the scruples which are to be implied from your communication, and agree with you in thinking that too much caution cannot be practised to keep heretics unhoused. I am thoroughly evangelical in my notions—holding the doctrines of the Trinity—the atonement—justification by faith and all that set of opinions which good men agree in pronouncing Orthodox.

Please send plans and estimates by return mail.

Very truly yours,
T. Cummins

New York,
Oct. 31, 1846.

Mr. T. Cummins:

Dear Sir:—

I am afraid you will think me overscrupulous, but I must obey conscience. You do not state whether you hold to baptism by immersion or sprinkling. I hope, by your removing all doubt upon this head, the last obstacle will be overcome.

Yours, in Christian love,
S. Sly.

Boston,
Nov. 3, 1846.

Mr. Sly:

Dear Sir:—

I am for infant baptism.

Yours, &c.,
T. Cummins.

New York,
Nov. 6, 1846.

Mr. Cummins:

Sir:—

I go for immersion, and can, of course, have no farther correspondence with you.

Unchristian as you are, I still believe in the goodness of your heart, and therefore do not doubt that you will be glad to know that my refusal to deal with unbelievers will give me ten contracts where they would have furnished one.

Trusting that the bitter lesson which you have now learned will win you to the mild light of Christianity,

I am with due respect,
S. Sly.

Other papers also enjoyed themselves at the expense of the overscrupulous architect, but the opinions were not quite all on one side. While the Unitarians might make fun of him, there were Episcopalians and others who treated his conscience more respectfully. The New York *Express* prints the following letter:

On the lowest hypothesis, Mr. Upjohn ought to be praised; at least he should be spared the attacks of insulting sarcasm, for if the work proposed conflicted with his principles, he had a right to decline the work. Was his candor reprehensible in stating his reason frankly? What is that boasted

liberality, which is liberal only to hypocrisy and negations, but ridicules whatever is positive in belief and condemns whatever is frank in statement? In this age of indifference to objective truth, when conscience and consistency are rare, it is refreshing, Messrs. Editors, to behold one example of heroism and intelligence.

Honor to the man who is thus faithful to himself, to his Church, and to God! As one out of many, I award the tribute of reverence and admiration to him who has thus proved himself to be an humble and self-sacrificing Christian. Not less than he has distinguished himself as a peerless architect.

(Signed) Anti-Arian

The most sensible, if not indeed the only intelligent, stand in this curious controversy is that taken by Upjohn's friend Theodore Lyman, a man with whom he had come in contact during his Boston period and for whom he had continued to do various small commissions.

My dear Sir.

I read yesterday a letter that you have written to Mr. Lamb on the subject of furnishing designs for a church in this town. I understand from this letter that you decline to furnish designs because the congregation, for whom the Church will be built, do not believe in the Divinity of the Saviour. Allow me to say that this Congregation believe as firmly in the Divine nature of the Saviour and in the doctrine of atonement as you do. If, therefore, I have made a correct inference from the terms of your letter, it contains an incorrect statement as to a fact. But I understand that your letter goes further than this. I understand you to assume the office of declaring not simply that you consider your own religious views right, but those of others wrong. This is a dangerous office, considering how many things are admitted to be mysterious in our faith and considering, too, how much good, pious and learned men have differed in regard to those mysterious matters, for you will discover that the differences among Christians are concerning the doctrinal and not the practical parts of the system.—The church that Mr. Lamb belongs to is a unitarian Church,—it holds, so far as I am informed, the same Christian doctrines as the Unitarian Churches of Boston and the other parts of the U. States. You prefer the Trinitarian view of the subject—There I agree with you. But shall we say that the great body of the Unitarians of this country or of G. Britain have no religion—that in their conduct in life they are not governed by a religious principle and that principle found, too, as they believe in the evangelical writers of the New Testament. Can we point out anywhere a class of men whose private life is more pure, more consistent, whose conduct is more enlightened, who give their time, their

talents and their money more freely to all good and proper objects than the Unitarians of Boston? I think not, and if I am right in this opinion, it ought to follow that their faith, however much you and I may prefer our own, at least produces good works. And if you know a better way of judging the influence of religion, I should be glad to be informed of it.

You will not build a church for Unitarians. How then build houses for them which you are now doing in this city. There is no difference in the principle, for the aid rendered is still to a Unitarian.

Do you decline to give designs for theatres, for club houses or for other buildings which may become the scenes of dissipation, if not of vice? If you consider that you have a right to pronounce on the religion of men, why not on their morals or their manners.

You are perhaps opposed to dancing. How then build a private house in which a ball may be given? But I shall say no more at present. I have written you these few hasty lines because I am truly your friend, because I know and appreciate your talents and because I believe that the views, that you have expressed, have arisen from a misapprehension of the subject.

Your faithful Servant
Theodore Lyman.

Boston November 27, 1846

Amusing though this controversy was, it would hardly be worth much space were it not for the light which it throws on Richard Upjohn's character. The implication in the Solomon Sly correspondence that the architect's refusal was based upon an expectation of more frequent commissions for Episcopal buildings can be dismissed summarily. Aside from its inherent improbability in view of the straightforward honesty of Upjohn's nature, he was already the foremost architect of that Church. His position there was unshakable owing to his success with Trinity, and in the field of ecclesiastical architecture he had no rival at that time. It would have been very bad judgment on his part to alienate as wealthy a group as the Unitarians, and to some extent the other Protestant sects who were bound to sympathize with them in the matter, when he had little or nothing to gain from the Episcopalians.

We may fairly assume that this preposterous and ill-judged epistle was written in good faith. He had always been interested in doctrine, as the excerpt from his diary of the trip to America¹⁴ shows clearly. That source further demonstrates that, having come

¹⁴ *Vide supra*, p. 28.

to a given conclusion, he was always ready to defend it and to try to persuade others to his point of view. On the other hand, though his own views might be strong, they can hardly have been bigoted during his Boston period. Had they been so, he would not have been willing to rent a pew in the Universalist Church.¹⁵ It is not improbable that his Boston acquaintances remembered this fact too, even though they do not mention it, and felt further disgusted that his earlier liberality should so completely have given way to this narrowly intolerant attitude.

The suggestion that he may have reached this conclusion through the persuasion of some ecclesiastics of the Episcopal Church is very probable, since feeling was more intense then than now. There is no evidence to show who that person was. That he knew Bishop Onderdonk, who had officiated at the consecration of several of his churches, is quite certain, but we have no grounds for assuming that Onderdonk was the outside influence. Possibly Dr. Wainwright may have been the source, but again there is no proof. In any case, whether he underwent persuasion or not, he alone must bear the stigma of this stupid intolerance, for such it was no matter how sincere he may have been.

Touching on this tempest in a teapot has carried us rather far afield from his architectural achievement, to which we must now return. All the churches hitherto considered have been either of the collegiate plan or of the three-aisled type. Naturally many of his jobs were less extensive. His more important one-aisled churches of this decade are usually cruciform with a deep chancel and bold transepts. The Church of the Holy Communion, New York (Fig. 35), on the corner of Sixth Avenue and Twentieth Street, discussed by Robert Dale Owen in *Hints on Public Architecture*, is a wholly charming example of Upjohn's style. Begun in 1844 and completed the next year, it adopts the Decorated style in fairly simple form. The slender tower on the corner, with its battle-mented top, sets off what was once a little country church. In fact, early lithographs show it surrounded by trees, with no great office buildings to challenge and dwarf its size and of course with no ele-

¹⁵ *Vide supra*, p. 37.

vated railroad to distract attention from the rural charm of the little building.

Of the same type is Christ Church, Raleigh, North Carolina (Fig. 36), begun in 1846, though the tower with its delicate broach spire was not completed before 1861. Of this building, Shinn says, "Only to know that it is one of Upjohn's churches is to be assured of its being graceful and convenient."¹⁶ Though somewhat fulsome and not quite of universal application, the compliment is justified in this case. Moreover, as a good early example of the matured Gothic Revival in the South, the building has its importance historically. The rector, Rev. R. S. Mason, anticipated this in a letter to the architect on November 27, 1847: "I am heartily rejoiced we have got this far and I hope the erection of our church will be the means of introducing a new style of church architecture in the south."

Much more important is St. Mary's Church, Burlington, New Jersey (Figs. 37, 38), the cornerstone of which was laid November 17, 1846, but which was consecrated only on August 10, 1854.¹⁷ Like Christ Church, Raleigh, the style is Early English for the most part, though here the side windows of the nave have simple tracery of generally Geometric form. The *Ecclesiologist* is quite severe on this design, saying, in part, "A very well meaning architect we fancy, but clearly not yet much experienced in Pointed Architecture. . . . The style is unfortunately modern First-Pointed."¹⁸ The editors betray their point of view in this condemnation of Early English. It is more a criticism of a period than of the handling. They point out that the Bishop, in proposing the rebuilding of the church, suggested a reproduction of St. John's, Shottesbrooke, and deplore the abandonment of that scheme. They impugn, then, his archaeology rather than his ability. They would have had him copy, as closely as modern methods of construction

¹⁶ George Wolfe Shinn, *King's Handbook of Notable Episcopal Churches in the United States*, pp. 82-83.

¹⁷ George Morgan Hills, *History of the Church in Burlington, New Jersey*, pp. 489, 505.

¹⁸ VIII (1847), 68.

would permit, a medieval design whether it suited the new problem or not.

The implied comparison with contemporary English Gothic Revival churches is not well taken. Burlington is more than capable of holding its own with contemporary English work. Hills's comments are better justified: "It does honour to the eminent architect, Mr. Richard Upjohn. For solidity and durability, the building can hardly be surpassed. Its promise of perpetuity is as great as can be predicated, of any work of man."¹⁹

Though somewhat dry in detail, as are all the buildings of this age on either side of the water, it is in other respects comparable to genuine medieval work, at least externally. There is, in fact, a fine freedom of proportion in this work, exceptional even in Upjohn's buildings. One could readily excuse fairly competent students of architecture who confused exterior photographs of this work with those of some English parish church. This recapturing of the spirit of a past age cannot be counted too greatly as a merit in the structure, though it would have been so when the church was built. Its success depends rather on the easy attainment of unity, on the directness with which the problem of High Church architecture of the nineteenth century was met, on the economy of means, on the simplicity of the masonry, and on the absence of superfluous detail. These are purely aesthetic matters based not on historic style, but on more general and ageless architectural requirements. The broach spire above the crossing pulls the whole design together admirably.

The interior hardly measures up to the distinction of the exterior. Though it can never be accused of overrichness, it can be accused of erring in the opposite direction. The great chamfered piers beneath the tower are bold enough, and there is a bigness of scale throughout, but the general impression is that of bareness, of a too marked austerity of form. It seems almost tight where the exterior had been so free. The wheels of architecture are grinding somewhat in their revolutions. Moreover, the plastered walls and piers leave something to be desired. Too frequently the nineteenth century, by failing to expose the materials which do the work,

¹⁹ Hills, *op. cit.*, p. 507.

missed its opportunity to give to its interiors a truly medieval strength. To be sure there were plenty of instances of plastered interiors in the Middle Ages, even in the vaunted structural character of French Gothic; vaults which were actually of stone had that material plastered and lined off with painted joints to look like stone. To precedent, then, the architect could appeal. Generalization on such a matter is dangerous, but at Burlington the interior would surely gain without the bleak, plain surface of the plastered walls and piers.

Small, poor, country parishes were normally compelled to build in wood, but in some instances due to peculiar local conditions this was not necessary. A case in point is Calvary Church, Stonington, Connecticut (Fig. 39), plans for which were sent out as early as January 5, 1848. Since Stonington is near New London, it is not surprising to find that the Rev. R. A. Hallam of St. James's wrote to the architect on behalf of the local rector, Mr. Willey. He explained their determination to use stone, and the reasons for this choice, and described their problem as a "plain, rustic church, rough but substantial and church like." A better summary of the church as built could hardly be given. The plan is simplicity itself, a nave and chancel, the latter unfortunately remodeled later. The style is Early English, with lancet windows in the nave and paired lancets having a quatrefoil above for the chancel window. Internally the same directness of solution is apparent as on the exterior. Hammerbeam trusses above plastered walls with a dado comprise the architectural expression.

In many cases these country churches started rather literally on faith alone, having only a few hundred dollars at their disposal. Consequently some help from Trinity Church, New York, was essential in getting started. It was but natural that they should think of the architect of that building, and often they asked him to give his services; this he made it a practice to do through most of his career for at least one such mission parish a year. No one of these wooden churches is of great importance in itself, but collectively they have their interest. The continuous demand for these simple little structures was to lead Richard Upjohn to produce *Upjohn's Rural Architecture* in 1852, to satisfy those parishes who

were too poor to afford even the most modest architect's fee or too distant to permit personal attention. The significance of the buildings of this class in the forties lies in their anticipation of those later designs.

An early instance is St. Paul's, Brunswick, Maine (Fig. 40). Built in 1845, the church is of the board and batten construction like the First Parish Church in the same town. The outer walls are made with vertical siding, whose joints are covered with wooden cleats or battens which project an inch or two from the plane of the wall. As an aisleless building with lancet windows in the nave, this anticipates the publication, but on the other hand transepts are retained here, the chancel window has simple tracery, barrel vaults on wooden ribs cover nave and transepts, and there is no tower. In short, the differences of this design from the later type are far greater than the similarities.

St. Thomas's, Hamilton, New York (Figs. 41, 42), was consecrated June 8, 1847. The church was lengthened later, and the tower and transepts were added in 1853.²⁰ Though different in the use of a scissors truss rather than an arch-braced roof, as well as in the presence of transepts, the church is closer to type. The tower, too, is differently placed and lacks that fine simplicity of the matured scheme. This was an instance in which the plans were furnished by Richard Upjohn without charge. The older (1850-51, but now destroyed) building of Trinity Church, Watertown, New York, was closer to the published designs in adopting a broach spire, though in other matters the building was radically different.²¹ St. James's, Pulaski, New York, was dedicated on February 27, 1850, and except for the omission of the tower and the use of traceried two-light windows in the nave was quite close to type. The board and batten exterior has now given way to shingles, with a consequent loss of character.

Through these and other examples, it is possible to see the

²⁰ Charles Worthen Spencer, *Historical Address Read at the Centennial of the Organization of St. Thomas' Church, Hamilton, New York, September 21, 1935.*

²¹ F. B. Hough, *History of Jefferson County in the State of New York*, pp. 295-96.

architect's idea for the small country parish developing to that point where it became desirable to publish it. That the designs should exhibit at this stage wide variations is precisely what should be expected. Even after the type was formulated, considerable modifications were made, but at this period we observe the architect trying out various types of roof, the presence or absence of transepts, towers or belfries of several forms, and a host of minor details. Through this experimental stage what he considered a satisfactory general solution was finally evolved, of which more will be said later.

Though built of brick, the general form of St. Thomas's, Amenia Union, New York (Figs. 43, 44), belongs essentially to the same group. Begun in 1849 and completed in 1851,²² it is the most charming of them all, and save for the replacement of the tower by a belfry, like that at Stonington, and for the buttresses which naturally find no place in wooden churches it conforms closely to the later standard. The plan, fenestration, and arch-braced ceiling differ only in such small details as could well be modified on the spot.

The bulk of his work at this time, and later, is ecclesiastical, but it is a mistake to consider it entirely so. Few architects, however specialized they may be, are either able or willing to confine themselves straitly to a single form. Upjohn's church architecture shows some variation in style and in type through this ten-year period, but the ecclesiastical work is consistency itself beside his domestic buildings. In these the heterogeneous eclecticism of the nineteenth century comes out far more clearly.

Just after his arrival in New York, Upjohn was called upon by the Rev. Thomas H. Taylor of Grace Church to build a house for him. The exasperatingly vague location of this building is given in his records only as Staten Island. An elevation, rendered in full water color, is preserved, together with a plan (Figs. 45, 46). The drawing is labeled in pencil by a later hand, that of Richard M. Upjohn, as the house in question. In style the rendering is somewhat more advanced than that of the drawings for the Gardiner mansion, and there is nothing in the design itself which renders

²² Mrs. A. C. Knibloe, "History of St. Thomas' Church" (unpublished).

the identification improbable. "Gothic cottages" were not uncommon at this time, as, for instance, in the work of Alexander J. Davis and as shown in Andrew J. Downing's *Cottage Residences*. The façade is symmetrical, with pointed windows in the dormers, traceried barge boards, slender pinnacles—in short, the full equipment of the so-called "Gothic cottage." This Folk-Gothic type had a certain naïve charm. Though the small house of the Middle Ages surely did not look like this and though a pedantic critic might carp at the elaboration of detail, bought at the expense of more solid construction, the ingenuous form is more quaint than unpleasant.

The most distinguished club, architecturally, in Williams College, is the Sigma Phi Fraternity. This imposing mansion was moved from Albany, bit by bit, where it had been the residence of General Stephen Van Rensselaer. Quite a number of letters still exist from that gentleman dealing with the alterations to his house, with a new house which he was building, and with his office. Unfortunately these communications deal only with such details as that the painters on the job were too drunk to work on a particular morning.

This fine colonial residence of 1765 was completely remodeled in 1840–44 (Fig. 47). That the design was affected by its Georgian predecessor is obvious; the alterations are more problematical. The wings were entirely remodeled, the porch was added, specific form was given to the dormers, windows and doors were changed, and New Jersey brown sandstone was adopted as the material. The plan also was modified. Nevertheless, the façade shows a disposition which is evidently the effect of the earlier design, the new dormers are not very different from true Colonial examples, and the mass of the house varies little from the Georgian.

Returning to firmer ground and to still another style, we come to the residence of Edward King, Newport, Rhode Island, described and illustrated in Downing's *Country Houses*.²³ It was apparently begun in 1845 and completed in 1847. The use of the "Italian villa" style proved to be almost standard in the more important examples of Upjohn's domestic work, continuing in a long

²³ Andrew Jackson Downing, *Architecture of Country Houses*, pp. 317 ff.

series well into the sixties. The design is asymmetrical, on an almost square plan, with a stubby tower on one corner and (for the period) relatively limited verandas (Figs. 48, 49). Windows are chiefly round-arched, but not entirely, and of an appalling variety of sizes and shapes. The simple directness of his churches in mass and fenestration is hardly followed here. As an example of the type it is excellent, but one cannot agree with Downing's rather glowing adulation, in which he compares the harmony and variety of the openings to a Beethoven symphony, probably as left-handed a compliment as that genius ever received. He says, "It is one of the most successful specimens of the Italian style in the United States, and unites beauty of form and expression with spacious accommodation, in a manner not often seen." It may be so.

The plan of the James C. Forsyth house in Kingston, New York, 1849, shows the same tendency to break up the mass, though the façade of the building was symmetrical. Where these houses fall short of the success of earlier types in this country lies precisely in their complexity. Perhaps the Forsyth house is better than most in that respect. Internally, though the stairs are sufficiently ample, the space is chopped up into entirely separate rooms, which leave little possibility of opening up the interior.

The modification of "Lindenwald," home of Martin Van Buren (Fig. 50) at Kinderhook, New York, was made at the same time. The change in character of a good colonial house cannot but be deplored by any lover of the older forms of American architecture. This work was interesting from two very different points of view: the fame and position of the owner proved valuable to the architect on the occasion of his trip abroad, and one of the oldest furnaces built by Richardson and Boynton was installed here, showing that it was at just about this date that central heating began to appear.

Quite a different challenge to the architect arose with the proposed layout of Jubilee College. "The design of Jubilee College [Fig. 51] is now before the public—though in an imperfect state. The name of the author, the first in the country, will be given, as soon as it shall have been perfected by his finishing hand, and the

working drafts added.”²⁴ Bishop Philander Chase’s project for an Episcopalian seminary in the wilderness near Peoria, Illinois, in 1845 was of course to be built in sections, as the need arose and as funds could be secured. This was planning for the future indeed. The drawing has been published as the project for Columbia College in 1857. Such confusion was not unreasonable in view of the extent of this building. Of course, the design included all that might be needed: chapel, library, classrooms, refectory, dormitories, and perhaps quarters for the instructors. This varied menu was met by a correspondingly rich architectural cuisine. Unit followed unit like the courses in some great banquet. The good Bishop was kind to suppress the architect’s name until the design should be “perfected.” Fertility of imagination was there in abundance but no unity. The whole chimerical scheme is strangely reminiscent of Martin Chuzzlewit’s disappointment on the banks of the Ohio.

Upjohn’s reputation will not suffer much through the disappearance of the City Hotel, in Taunton, Massachusetts, built in 1848–51. Rather than having an Italian origin, this design looked to France for inspiration, though it showed little real understanding of French architecture. Like the domestic work, the mass of this structure was unfortunately and unnecessarily complicated. The building was of four stories, of which the fourth was comprised within the mansard roof, but a six-story tower marked the left corner of the façade, balanced after a fashion by a four-story tower near, but not on, the right corner. The cornice was bracketed. That same variety of fenestration which Downing found so praiseworthy in the King residence appeared again in less virulent form; the tower windows terminated in round arches, whereas segmental arches crowned the rest of the windows.

It is fitting that this chapter dealing with the growth of Upjohn’s architectural style should end with one of his most important church designs, St. Paul’s, Buffalo. A quick sketch (Fig. 52), dated March 6, 1848, is said to be the one made by the architect when first talking to the committee. The first plans proved to be too ex-

²⁴ *Bishop Chase’s Address Delivered before the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Springfield, Illinois, June 16, 1845.*

pensive, and the architect was asked to modify them. A new set was adopted by the building committee on March 28, 1849,²⁵ and work was begun in September of the same year, though the cornerstone was not formally laid until June 12, 1850. The new edifice was consecrated October 22, 1851, though the tower and spire were incomplete at that time, the spire not being added until 1870, at the very end of Upjohn's active life. It carried out his earlier design.

The problem in this church was peculiar owing to the triangular site. In order to develop the ground as completely as possible, the body of the church was so placed as to parallel the long side of the triangle (Figs. 53, 54, 55). This left room in one angle for the single tower and on another side for a chapel to be introduced, thereby accounting for the unusually complex mass design. A bell turret (completed 1871) flanking the chancel introduces a vertical accent at that end of the building, recalling the soaring spire at the other end. The latter went through several modifications in design, at one time having crockets and pinnacles, both of which are omitted in the completed work. The exceptionally tall proportions of this broach spire atop an already lofty tower form a splendid climax to the whole.

St. Paul's was completely gutted by fire on May 10, 1888, and was restored by R. W. Gibson of Albany. A few slight modifications were made in the plan at that time, but the exterior was very little altered and may still be accepted as an original example of Upjohn's work. The interior, on the other hand, was completely modified. As originally built, the church conformed closely to the type of his larger city churches: reversed gambrel roof without a clearstory, a triple lancet for the chancel window, hammerbeam trusses and moulded capitals.

When the church was being furnished, the problem of finishing the pews came to the fore. It was customary to sell them to raise money for the building, but apparently the care and equipment of each pew was left to the owner's discretion. Under these circumstances, it was quite possible to have introduced a bewildering

²⁵ Charles W. Evans, *History of St. Paul's Church, Buffalo, N. Y.*, pp. 55 ff.

variety of cushions and upholstery to suit the taste of each occupant. The architect wrote to protest against this in September, 1851:

People may be as fantastic as they please in their dwellings . . . but in the Church of God they have no right to show off their follies, notwithstanding they may be owners of pews. I have usually covered the seats or cushions with good, plain crimson damask,—this contrasts well with the rich-toned black walnut. The color of the carpet is the same, the figure—if any—is small and fitting the architecture of the church.²⁶

These few sentences show again the seriousness with which Richard Upjohn regarded his calling. To build a church was to him not merely a means of earning a livelihood, but still more an act of devotion, a visible proof of a steadfast faith which remained with him through life. It was this deep conviction which had betrayed him in the Unitarian matter previously discussed²⁷ and this same feeling which impelled him to use all his powers of persuasion to achieve a building which he felt to be truly a Church of God down to the last detail. He expressed this belief himself in the description accompanying his plans for the Church of the Ascension, Philadelphia, in 1848:²⁸

The object is not to surprise with novelties in church Architecture, but to make what is to be made truly ecclesiastical—a Temple of solemnities—such as will fix the attention of persons, and make them respond in heart and spirit to the opening service—"The Lord is in his Holy Temple—let all the earth keep silence."

The story of the cross on the spire of Trinity Church, New York, of the fear of the rector in the Church of the Ascension, New York, that Upjohn might get his deep chancel, and of the furniture of St. James's Church, New London,²⁹ all point in the same direction to reveal this, the strongest single element in his personality and the most vital factor in his life.

It may not be without interest to call attention to the similarity of this problem in planning to that of another very famous and far more influential church, Trinity Church, Boston, by Richardson,

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 423.

²⁷ *Vide supra*, pp. 81-87.

²⁸ Lithograph and description of the project.

²⁹ *Vide supra*, pp. 55-56, 69, 77-79.

some twenty years later. Such a comparison may, on the whole, be unfavorable to St. Paul's, since the great Richardsonian building is far more important historically and far more monumental. Richardson was fortunate in having the setting on Copley Square, which enables the design to be seen as a whole, rather than being relatively crowded with other buildings and lined by comparatively narrow streets.³⁰ Richardson chose the Romanesque for his inspiration; Upjohn, the Gothic. For all the influence of Provençal and Spanish Romanesque, Trinity Church can hardly be called a mere archaeological study, nor can the impress of the Early English at St. Paul's be so described. Both are essentially adaptations of historic styles.

The Richardson building is far more compact. Commonly this concentration is attributed to the contracted nature of the site. That is partly true, but it is also due to the fact that Richardson chose to run the axis of his church parallel to one of the shorter sides of his triangular plot. Upjohn, retaining the Gothic, preferred the long side of his area. Trinity is very nearly a Greek cross; its two-bay nave is shorter than the width of the transepts. Possibly one might say that it gives a less churchly impression than St. Paul's. Certainly it is less adapted to the liturgical point of view of the High Church party. Moreover, ingenious though Richardson's plan is, the space at his disposal is less completely developed than St. Paul's. A glance is enough to assure us of the greater monumentality of Trinity, a bigness achieved at the price of unutilized space and other matters. Upjohn is said to have considered St. Paul's his masterpiece. Whether one chooses to go as far as that or not, it certainly is one of his most distinguished designs.

During this decade one sees a clear development in Upjohn's style. The most important feature of this growth is the formulation of a characteristic type for the larger churches. At the beginning he still retained the clearstory, but through several experimental stages that feature was replaced by the reversed gambrel roof, with consequent changes in the interior. The type was al-

³⁰ The site of St. Paul's is more open to the east, but exigencies of orientation impelled Upjohn to place his entrance to the west.

ready well established by about 1847, and from then on it was repeated like a theme with variations.

The adoption of wood for smaller churches and the working out of a solution for them provides another element in the period. Here he did not quite reach his type but experimented with various details, all of similar character and leading up to the finished form in the next period. Doubtless the need for economy dictated the design. The lavishness and prominence of woodwork in piers, trusses, and so on in his larger work sometimes makes one wonder whether perhaps his training as a cabinetmaker and his consequent familiarity with carpentry may not have influenced him to some extent.

Even in the superficial matter of choice of style, a distinct development can be traced. In the early forties, the style was apt to be Perpendicular, as illustrated in Trinity Church itself. By the end of the period, the Early English afforded the inspiration for his designs, with occasional touches of Decorated in the tracery. This abandonment of the last phase of English Gothic architecture paralleled a similar change in England at this date. So also did the change from a symmetrical scheme to an asymmetrical. The towers of the early churches were on the axis of the façade, those of the later ones generally not so. Sometimes the site suggested asymmetry, as it clearly did in St. Paul's and less evidently in various instances of corner locations such as Grace Church, Providence. Here again is a correspondence with the development of the Gothic Revival in England. This change was due in part to the fading influence of the Classic and Georgian styles and in part to a growing realization that few medieval buildings were precisely axial. Often this tendency in later times was to lead to a deliberate adoption of asymmetry. So forced a search for the picturesque and informal betrayed many later architects into vagaries of design, through a failure to realize that in true medieval examples that effect was achieved by some suggestion of the site, the local problem, or by the passage of centuries over which many of the churches were built. The absence of this artificial quest of charm is certainly one reason for the difference of Upjohn's churches of this period from the run of later work which is truly Victorian in style.

In church architecture, especially that for the Episcopalian congregation, he confined himself quite strictly to the various phases of English Gothic. In other work, he allowed himself greater freedom of style. German or Italian Romanesque or the "Italian villa" may be adopted. Especially in the latter, a search for asymmetry becomes more evident than in his church work, and his success is in consequence less marked. Indeed, the "Italian villas" are open to exactly the criticism of the falsely picturesque which is so noticeably absent from his ecclesiastical designs.

PRODUCTION IN QUANTITY

ONE would suppose that by 1850 Richard Upjohn must have found himself in affluent circumstances. During the five years from 1845 to 1849, something over sixty commissions—not counting, of course, what was already under way at the earlier of the two dates—had come to the office, many of them for large churches of an expensive character. That he was reasonably well provided for is certain, but Upjohn was far too much of an idealist and a dreamer ever to reap to the full a financial return which his success and popularity made possible.

The letter to Samuel Rodman, undated but written about 1848, has already been referred to.¹ It is now quoted at some length.

Sam^l, Rodman Esq

Dr Sir

In answer to your favour respecting the redemption of my brothers property I am under the necessity of stating that I cannot do it not having the means. It appears from your letter that you are impressed with the view that I have property to an extent which would enable me to purchase the house in question with comparative ease. it is needless for me to state that I would gladly help to such an extent a brother were it in my power. And as you have put the question to me, in giving an answer in the negative, I shall be obliged to trespass on your time for the purpose of showing why I am not able to comply with your request. This I will do as brief as practicable. Though the blessing of Divine Providence I have passed hitherto on this journey of life through various changes of circumstances, and by hard work, hard study, and untiring effort have arrived to my present position. [Here follows an account of his failure in England and his early struggles in America, through 1839.] My work since then have been going on. I have been receiving remuneration therefor. spending nothing improvidently, as soon as my liabilities were can-

¹ *Vide supra*, pp. 23, 48.

celled here, my family in reasonable circumstances, I was reminded of my first turn over and though my obligation was legally cancelled, I did not consider myself free and therefore commenced remitting to England, until I had reduced the sum, to what it now stands at, about 400 which I have in the Savings bank ready to pay when I have the opportunity to do it safely. This accounts for some of the means which I have earned, next my expences necessarily in expensive books, next the expences of a family, 6 children to be brought up to live *right* and to *work well* requires good training and a good education, and cash to do it with, I have built a house this with the lot 25 ft x 100 ft cost 11000 [?] \$. paid for entire. My sister's husband was master of the England Packet ship, the ship was lost the husband with it, the wife has all told \$1850 the interest of which is all that she has to live on, a small pittance. It being difficult for her to get a place respectable to live in, she requested me to build her a small house, this I have done. she is moving into it this day. it will cost about \$2,300 with the lot, it is paid for within \$200. I have a small amount of money in my business for the payment of my draughtsman, office rent, and incidental expences. Thus the whole extent of my funds and position so far as my cash capabilities are concerned is before you, and your letter seemed to require of me that I should be thus much candid in laying open to your view in a few words my real situation in money matters, which I hope will be a sufficient apology for doing what under almost any other circumstances I should not have done.²

To find that he was both able and willing to reassume the debts which he had left behind him in England, when he could have taken refuge behind the bankruptcy laws, is not surprising. Not to do so would have seemed to him entirely dishonest. His payments were completed in 1850. His own house to which he refers was that at 296 Clinton Street, Brooklyn, which he bought from Nicholas Luquer, August 8, 1842.

By 1850, after ten years of unremitting labor, Richard Upjohn felt justified in taking a short trip to Europe. He could leave the office in charge of his son, Richard Michell Upjohn, who, though a young man, had already shown the energy which carried him far in later years. Upjohn and his wife elected to go by steamer. Though not new, the novelty of ocean travel by steam rather than by sail had not yet entirely worn off. It seemed rather adventurous to try it. All the family, of course, came down to see them leave. The parting can hardly have been as tearful as those to be seen today at

² Punctuation, misspellings, and the like follow the original.

Cobh when the Irish leave their native land, but such affairs are apt to be somewhat tense and strained. Everything important had already been said, and private matters could not well be discussed between two parties one of whom was on the dock and the other on deck. It must have been a relief, in a sense, to have their young son shout, "Mama, may I have a piece of pumpkin pie?"

Upjohn's first objective was to revisit his old home in Shaftesbury. He had brought the last of the money owed to his English creditors, in a silken purse knitted for this purpose by his daughter. Under these circumstances his return was naturally different from his departure. Then he had been a failure; now he was a success. A penniless young man can hardly expect the same cordiality that a successful architect will receive. Moreover, time had doubtless softened the differences between him and his family. He had gone to America against their judgment, but his career there silenced criticism.

He did not take the trip without arming himself with letters of introduction. How helpful these may have been we have no way of knowing, but it is reasonable to suppose that a letter from Martin Van Buren, ex-president of the United States, must have opened many doors for him. The American ambassador, at least, had to do something for him. For instance, a card is still extant, given him by the embassy to admit him to the Dulwich Gallery. In July he was in London. Whether he visited other cities in England is not known, but most of this trip, aside from the time spent at his home in Shaftesbury, was passed on the Continent, especially in Germany and Italy.

Provided with an English letter of credit from Coutts and Co., London, he set off on his continental travels at the end of July or early in August. Going first to Antwerp, he proceeded directly to Cologne. Thence his route led up the Rhine to Frankfort and then through southern Germany, touching at Stuttgart, Augsburg, and Munich. These, of course, are merely the principal places at which he stopped, being marked by letters of introduction from his bankers in London. From there he apparently traveled diagonally across Switzerland to Italy, where on September 1 he visited Turin, and then went back across northern Italy to Verona and Venice. It

must have been a desire to see the Alps which impelled him to select this peculiar route, since his direct road from Munich to Verona would have taken him down through Innsbruck and the Austrian Tyrol. Nor would Turin itself have been a likely drawing card to a person more interested in the medieval than in the baroque. In any case, his trip after that is normal enough—Bologna, Florence, Rome, and thence back to Paris by September 30, sailing from Calais on October 6.

It was a fleeting journey and in some respects a curious one. The apparent neglect of France by a student of medieval, and especially of Gothic, architecture is extraordinary. Had he gone to France in his youth and seen the famous northern French cathedrals? Though likely enough, his work does not indicate it. The German trip recalls his use of German Romanesque in the Bowdoin College Chapel. In the study of Gothic architecture, Germany claimed much more attention in England, and perhaps in America, at that time than it does now. The presence of the Prince Consort in England had a great deal to do with this, particularly in view of his active patronage of the arts which culminated in the great exposition of 1851. Or is it possible that Upjohn's friend, Leopold Eidlitz, influenced this itinerary? The sight of German Gothic buildings may have affected him in his choice of polychrome roofs, which cover many of his churches subsequent to this trip but not at all previously. Italy also had been already drawn upon by Upjohn for inspiration. Even aside from the "Italian villa" type which appeared before this trip in his domestic work, he had based the designs for the Harvard College Chapel on this source.

The same arguments which Mrs. Van Rensselaer³ adduces to explain the brevity and fruitfulness of Richardson's trip of 1882 could be repeated again here. Upjohn knew just what he wanted to see, what could be passed over lightly, and what merited study. Though short in elapsed time, his background made it less of a Cook's tour than it seems at first glance. His stay in Venice was all too brief, but one can do much in Florence in a week, if one knows how to do it, and still more in nearly two weeks in Rome.

³ Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer, *The Life and Work of Henry Hobson Richardson*, pp. 26 ff.

On his return, he found the office running smoothly under Richard M. Upjohn's management. His son was twenty-two years old at this time. He had entered his father's office at least as early as 1846. A ledger is preserved, running from July 1, 1846, to June 30, 1847, in which Richard M. Upjohn appears regularly at the bottom of the list of draftsmen. He was then barely eighteen, just beginning his architectural training, almost as an apprentice. As such he was entrusted only with some of the smaller and less important commissions, and very probably even these were done under fairly strict supervision. It is impossible that he can have left his mark on any of the designs turned out by the firm before 1850. In fact, he was little more than an office boy. For example, the entry of July 6, 1846, shows "R. M. Upjohn Running about, &c." He worked on a small church, otherwise unidentified, on a church in Michigan, and occasionally, when a set of drawings had to be produced in a hurry, he assisted the older men, as with Christ Church, Raleigh, or that at Norwich. Whether he was paid anything at this time is not certain. The account book of these years makes no reference to payments under his name, though it does refer to other draftsmen individually. He might be the R. Upjohn referred to on the weekly payroll, but that is the usual identification of his father. Perhaps his salary was so small as to be included under the general heading of office expenses. Possibly, also, it might have been paid by his father directly without appearing in the books.

In 1851 Richard Michell Upjohn formed a partnership with Richard Upjohn under the name of Upjohn & Co., which was changed to R. Upjohn & Co. in the revision of its membership in 1853 to include Charles Babcock, Richard Upjohn's son-in-law. The father naturally retained the lion's share of both profit and responsibility. He received eight-tenths, the junior members one-tenth each, but he was to pay the salary of James A. Cowing, a near-partner, from his portion.⁴ In 1856 the several interests were adjusted, Richard Upjohn taking three-fifths, his son and Babcock one-fifth each. It was in 1853, too, that the firm moved its office from 64 Broadway to 111 Broadway, the Trinity Building, which

⁴ Articles of copartnership, January 1, 1853.

they had just completed. The name of the partnership and the office address have sometimes proved useful in a tentative identification of drawings.

The active influence of Richard M. Upjohn on the work of the firm was to be delayed for some months after the partnership had been formed by his departure to Europe. His trip was more extended than his father's. He did not come home until 1852. Naturally, since he had not passed the early years of his life on the other side, he would feel still more keenly the need of such study, and being a younger man and as yet without heavy responsibilities he could afford the time to complete his training.

The design of Zion Church, Rome, New York (Fig. 56), was no doubt well under way before Richard Upjohn left for his trip abroad. The cornerstone was laid September 5, 1850, and the church was consecrated September 25, 1851. Internally the church has been modernized in recent years by Hobart B. Upjohn, but save for the shallow chancel, a most unusual feature for this date, it followed the type of the smaller Upjohn church. Instead of a tower, Zion Church had a belfry over the façade. This device had occurred previously, to be sure, at Stonington and at St. Andrew's, New Berlin, but the somewhat larger size of Zion Church permitted it to be doubled. The center of the façade projected slightly beyond the aisles, producing a certain verticality which to some extent superseded a tower. Moreover, coupled with the porch and the diagonal buttresses it gave relief and interest in light and shade which, in view of the absence of detail, might otherwise have been lacking. The diagonal buttresses are not logical, but they do help to give charm to this modest building.

The flank is less successful, but a pair of small gables in the principal slope of the roof deserves comment. This element, which became almost standard after this time, seems not to have appeared earlier.⁵ Such dormers as these may be an attempt to overcome the black pall, a result of the reversed gambrel roof, which hangs above one's head in some of the earlier churches. It is, how-

⁵ St. Andrew's, New Berlin, New York, has only one such gable to light the organ gallery, for which plans were sent July 15, 1850. Stonington has one also, an addition of the 1850's.

ever, only partly successful, since even here where the gablets are larger than usual they are still too insignificant to afford any real substitute for a clearstory.

His most attractive country church is St. Paul's, Brookline, Massachusetts (Figs. 57, 58), consecrated December 23, 1852. It conforms closely to the usual three-aisled type with a deep chancel but without transepts. The style is early Decorated, with geometrical tracery in the aisles and in the three-light chancel window. Within, all is standard, even to the black walnut, that hallmark of the third quarter of the nineteenth century. Externally the proportions, so obviously right, give the church its charm. The avoidance of decorative features, of pinnacles, projecting mouldings, and applied ornament, allows the mass to tell. Nor is that mass complicated like so many Victorian designs. The spire, a simple broach, is placed on one corner; it is balanced on the opposite side by the lateral porch and at the east end by the smaller volume of the chancel echoing and continuing the lines of the nave. In such reticent designs as this, even more than in his better-known city churches, Upjohn did real service to American architecture. Had the value of quietness been more widely recognized by others, perhaps even by Richard M. Upjohn, the country might have been spared, at least in church architecture, some of the maunderings of the next generation. One has only to look at the Harvard Church in Brookline, by Potter, less than a mile away and itself powerfully influenced by St. Paul's, to see the contrast. Upjohn's work waits shyly for appreciation, while the later church screams for attention.

The interior of Trinity Chapel (Fig. 60), on Twenty-sixth Street between Fifth and Sixth Avenues, New York, is his masterpiece. Designed late in 1850 or early the next year, it was consecrated April 17, 1855.⁶ The façade (Fig. 59), with its rose window and gabled portal, both filled with plate tracery of simple form, is of very minor interest. Here, at least, the criticism of the *Ecclésiologist*,⁷ that the building is "starved, we hear, outside," is

⁶ Morgan Dix, *A History of the Parish of Trinity Church in the City of New York*, IV, 360 ff.

⁷ XVI (1855), 189.

justified. Façades are usually the weakest element in any of his designs. This one is exceptionally so, due partly to a dryness more or less inherent in the style but much more to the nineteenth-century dullness of execution. Perhaps the absence of a tower impelled him to adopt paneled buttresses and also octagonal pinnacles flanking the façade as if to make up by decoration the attraction it lacked in mass. It would not do. No amount of adornment, though Trinity Chapel has very little, could ever disguise an insipid mass. He had paneled his buttresses before in St. John's, Bangor, and in the early sketches of Trinity Church, but in each case the richer quality of the mass design may have suggested it. The masonry, hard as an engraving, made no attempt to soften the design through charm of texture. On the other hand, the lancet windows of the flank and apse (Fig. 61) have a certain exciting loftiness of proportion and a sense of scale which give some inkling of the splendid interior. One must confess, however, that on the whole anyone would be quite justified in walking past the façade without entering—it looks like just another church.

But if the entrance is drab, the interior (Fig. 60) has a loftiness and a brilliance of proportion which make it entirely different and in its height exceptional in Upjohn's work. Being of a single aisle, the unity of spatial effect is very impressive, accentuated by the great chancel arch whose openness leads into a similar lofty volume in the apse, where rich polychromy seems a fitting culmination to the splendor of the whole.

Moreover, the fine use of materials adds greatly to the impression of monumentality. Neither plaster nor paint hides the light Caen stone of the walls, except in the apse. Being left quite unadorned, the surfaces afford that warmth of texture and suggestion of strength inherent in good masonry construction. Against this setting, the dark woodwork of the hammerbeam trusses is well displayed, and they are not allowed the richness and exuberance of the trusses in Grace Church, Providence, or St. James's, New London. Sturdy enough to do their work well without being heavy, they dare to rely for effect on clean line and bold simplicity.

The building is much better lighted than many of Upjohn's churches. Flush with the inner face of the wall within the window

arches is a little plate tracery, the glass being set further out. This device is a common feature of English medieval architecture, though the expedient is more usual in conjunction with bar tracery than with plate. If the traceried area were any larger than it is, heaviness and loss of light could hardly be avoided. As executed, it creates a very telling sense of the thickness of the wall and a varying pattern as the arch of the window is seen through the interstices of the tracery.

Another effective feature is the blind arcade, if one may so describe it, below the windows. Like the treatment above, this expresses the depth of the masonry. By eliminating hood moulds and placing the supporting colonettes and archivolts inside the arch, Upjohn admirably preserved the power of a solid wall.

One very significant motive is the apsidal termination. The form of a polygonal apse had been used in the additions to Christ Church, Norwich, which appear to have been made at about this date, but in no other important example of his work. This alternative to the square east end may be one tangible result of his European travel. Though radically different in many ways, there are some elements, such as the pronounced verticality and the very acute form of the lower arches, which vaguely recall Westminster itself. He would, of course, have known the Abbey earlier, but he must have seen it again in 1851. Moreover, apses appear frequently enough in Germany and Italy to offer plenty of possible sources, not to mention their appearance in various books that he brought back with him (e. g., *Atlas zur Geschichte der deutsch-mittelalterlichen Baukunst, in 86 Tafeln*, by Georg Gottfried Kallenbach, Munich, 1847). Henceforward the apse is a common, if not indeed the normal, east end of his larger churches.

The polychromy, referred to above, is also remarkable. As a rule, the nineteenth century was not particularly successful in its experiments in color, which became more frequent and more somber as the century waned. This is not the first instance of painting in Upjohn's work.⁸ The rendering of the Harvard College Chapel drawing (Fig. 33) shows a lavish use of color, and several of the churches had adopted it in part. Here, however, it is used

⁸ The reredos of Trinity Church, New York, was richly polychromed.

really well. It appeared in the nave in the slender shafts supporting the trusses and in the elaborate cross above the chancel arch, not, however, in such profusion as to spoil the feeling of a design in stone and wood.

Full richness of color is reserved for the chancel, where splendor is not inappropriate. There the German craftsman, Habastrak, put an elaborate small-scale pattern which creates the sense of opulence without calling too much attention to itself. In fact, it enhances the architecture, as it should, rather more successfully than the vivid treatment of the nave shafting. This system, with variations, carries right up to the roof, even covering the jambs of the windows. The ceiling here, as in the nave, is blue, spangled with gold stars—rich again, yet unobtrusive. More recently the blind arches along the nave and in the chancel have been filled with paintings, but these are sufficiently subdued in tone not to disturb the harmony of the design.

St. Paul's, Baltimore, consecrated January 10, 1856, may show the influence of his Italian travels. He had resorted to the Italian in the Harvard College Chapel, but that was not executed. The reputation of the architect will not be much damaged by showing the original rendering (Fig. 62) rather than the church itself. For one thing, the lofty campanile was not carried out and looks painfully unfinished even today. The existing church is perhaps bold, but certainly heavy and cold in feeling, due partly to the yellow brick. Such a tower as this of many stories with an open arcade at the top occurs in many an Early Christian Roman basilica, though added to them much later in the Middle Ages. The corbel table is reminiscent of Lombardy, but in other respects the Tuscan comes to mind. Compared to the Harvard drawings, St. Paul's shows a clearer, though still imperfect, sense of scale, the uncertainty and broken character in the earlier work replaced by a far simpler mass.

St. Paul's is more or less exceptional. With Christ Church, Binghamton (Fig. 63), Upjohn returns again to his more normal expression. It is not an exciting work—his buildings seldom are—but it is tolerable. The sloping site led him to adopt the somewhat unusual plan of putting the tower, to which the spire was added only in 1902, next to the apse. An apse is quite general after this

time. In other respects, since the well-known form is followed, no comment is necessary. The church was done over on the interior in 1910, at which time the earlier wooden piers were replaced by stone, though still conforming to tradition. Preliminary sketches were made late in 1852, according to the letter announcing Upjohn's retention as architect, and the cornerstone is dated the following year. Though a large stone church indicates an ambitious parish, the architect had some trouble collecting his bill and threatened to bring suit. There is, however, no record of such an action, and the presumption is that the dilatory parish met its obligation—one hopes without too much ill feeling on either side.

The Madison Square Presbyterian Church, New York (Fig. 65), for Dr. Parkhurst, was also begun in 1853.⁹ This three-aisled church, with a tower rising over the center of the façade, was always claimed by Richard M. Upjohn as the first of his works. We may conclude, therefore, that nothing before this can have shown his influence to a perceptible degree. On this supposition, the features which have sometimes been selected as earmarks of the son's work as compared with the father's seem not to be valid. Plate tracery has been suggested as a distinguishing mark, but that appeared in Trinity Chapel and not in the belfry windows of this now-vanished church. Nor obviously can polychromy in itself, the use of the apse, or a mixture of styles be accepted as indisputable evidences of the hand of Richard M. Upjohn.

To allocate to individuals the work of several men in a partnership is always hazardous. In some cases the work of Mr. Cram can be distinguished from that of Goodhue with relative assurance, even before the separation of that firm by the establishment of the Boston and New York offices. In other instances it is far more difficult. One can occasionally speak confidently about the work of McKim or of White, but unless there is some documentary evidence to mark the guiding mind in any particular instance or unless the differences in style are very clear indeed, one can regard such attributions only as tentative.

Most of the work of the Upjohn firm during the early fifties

⁹ Charles H. Parkhurst, *A Brief History of the Madison Square Presbyterian Church*, p. 25.

reflects the ideas of the father. His reputation, rather than Richard M. Upjohn's, brought to the office the flood of work which inundated it at this time, and as the older man he would be likely to play the dominant role. The copartnership agreement indicates this. Still when a definite family tradition exists, as it does in this case, one must give it some weight. If this design really was done by the son, it shows evidence of his mature style only to a limited degree. The tower and spire, which are certainly the most distinguished parts, make little, if any, change from Richard Upjohn's manner. Its tall proportions, the broach, even the crockets, are to be found in several designs of the forties in which the son can have had no part. On the other hand, the lower part of the design, with gables corresponding to the aisles the walls of which are further roughened by gables above the lateral entrances, and a certain tight handling quite possibly mark the son's hand and serve to corroborate tradition fairly well. On the whole, then, we may accept this claim, if we recognize that the father largely influenced the son.

The cornerstone of All Saints', Frederick, Maryland (Fig. 64), was laid April 10, 1855. The "contract with Mr. Upjohn provided merely for furnishing plans and not for supervision."¹⁰ All Saints' reverted to the older arrangement of axial tower and spire and low clearstory. On the other hand, the style is Early English. Several of the important later churches return to the clearstory. To ascribe them offhand to Richard M. Upjohn is tempting but unreliable. Some of them, like St. Peter's, Albany, undoubtedly have a large amount of the son's hand in them; St. Thomas's, Taunton, probably has not, while St. Andrew's, Rochester, built after Richard Upjohn's retirement, has the reversed gambrel roof. The two forms coexisted, in short, and in themselves are no evidence of authorship.

A last important church of this time is Grace Church, Utica, New York (Figs. 66, 67). Shinn¹¹ gives it to Richard M. Upjohn, and unquestionably he had much to do with the execution of the work. However, the minutes of the vestry for 1875 discuss the addition at

¹⁰ Ernest Helfenstein, *History of All Saints' Parish in Frederick County, Maryland*, pp. 92 ff.

¹¹ George Wolfe Shinn, *King's Handbook of Notable Episcopal Churches in the United States*, pp. 94-96.

that time of the spire, which was to follow the designs of Richard and to be supervised by either the father or the son. Had the original design been made by the latter, this reference would be most difficult to explain. Furthermore, the church was originally planned in 1851 for Alfred Munson, as shown by a great many letters and by the pamphlet¹² put out on the seventy-fifth anniversary of the parish.

The type of the church strongly suggests the older hand. It is a large, aisled edifice, with shallow transepts and a chancel terminated by an apse. Arched trusses support a reversed gambrel roof, which reaches a considerable height over the nave. The slender piers are a little more detailed than usual, but this may well be due to the greater size and general magnificence of the church. The nave lancets, though trefoiled, are still fairly simple, but in the chancel tracery appears in the form of a cinquefoiled arch supporting a cinquefoiled circle above. Perhaps the general form of the structure is due to the older man, while some of the details show the hand of the son. This is the more likely, since the cornerstone was not laid until July 10, 1856, and the edifice finished only in 1860, at which time the son was taking over more and more of the responsibility of the firm. One sees his fussy treatment in the chancel, done in 1890, with its wagon vault resting, as it were, on other vaulted sections below. The complex and unattractive form of this roof is not unlike that adopted by Richardson for Trinity Church, Boston, a little more than a decade before.

But if the chancel loses something by its complication, the hand of Richard M. Upjohn is only occasionally visible elsewhere in this design—possibly in the foliate capitals, for example, of the nave. That part of the church and the exterior are much too similar to Richard Upjohn's earlier work to permit much doubt of their artistic genesis.

The tower was not added until 1870, and the spire some five years after that, at a time when Richard Upjohn had retired from active practice. As we have seen, they surely follow his general designs, though the original drawings for the spire had disappeared and Richard M. Upjohn had to redesign it, using the

¹² *Grace Church, Utica, N. Y.: Seventy-fifth Anniversary, 1838-1913.*

perspective as the basis. The mason miscalculated his angle and had to correct it while the work was in process of construction, producing a slight bend at the level of the upper gables. This was so trifling as to be hardly perceptible, however, and since the spire was rebuilt in 1933 by Hobart B. Upjohn it can no longer be seen, its place being more or less taken by the subtle entasis which the grandson worked into the profile of his ancestor's design.

It was, of course, customary to defray the expenses of building a new church by selling pews, and naturally their value was determined by their position. Those in the aisles or those in which the view of the altar and pulpit was more or less obstructed by piers obviously would bring less than those in the nave. Consequently Alfred Munson, the moving spirit of the project, wrote to Upjohn on March 17, 1851, asking if it would be possible to change the location of the pulpit so that it might be seen directly by more of the congregation and also hoping that the piers could be eliminated without sacrificing the appearance of the work. The draft of Richard Upjohn's answer to this singular request is fortunately preserved.

New York March 28 1851

A Munson Esq
My Dear Sir

I would have replied to your favour of the 17 inst earlier had I not found it necessary in order that the questions you desired me to answer should be duly considered by myself and that I might get the opinions of those gentlemen with whom I am acquainted and who I know to be well versed in all questions relating to ecclesiastical buildings.—

Your first question relative to the exact position of the pulpit is one which for the present may rest as I am satisfied with the position you have laid down in the plan you forwarded to me & on which you have based your valuation of the pews [*sic*].

The second however is one of much greater moment affecting as it does the whole architectural construction and appearance of the building both exterior and interior—in the following manner

- 1st If the columns are dispensed with the appearance of the exterior of the roof will not be as good as with them as the double pitch to the roof must be excluded and the single pitch used which in building of such wide dimensions as that now under consideration cannot be counteracted without much expense in making the walls

—and buttresses very massive to produce a corresponding weight to the lines of the roof—without which weight their can be no harmony in the general aspect of the building—

- 2nd The interior of the building by the columns being left out will be in appearance a secular building it being a common practice to build halls and public places of resort without columns vide Westminster Hall, Crossby Hall and others.—The interior effect of the church will be very much injured by the loss of perspective—and by the absence of a great variety of form in the roof, in the columns, arcades, arches, longitudinal & transverse, in the nave and aisles and in the apparent shortening of the building—
- 3rd I have exam[in]ed and caused others to examine all the books we have at our command to see the width of the nave and aisles in churc[h]es—In the large churches I find the average of the nave to be about 38 ft—the aisles to be 19. In the smaller churches—the average is about 20 for the nave and the aisles 10 ft.
- 4th In churches of one span the width is from 12 to 25 in some few instances they are more and in one only can I find a width more than 39 ft 6 in. I have therefore come to this conclusion that a church exceeding 40 ft in width should have columns

I have made another arrangmt for the pews and herewith send you a plan, in this arrangmt I make the church 2 feet wider and change the position of the columns & alleys which will not injure the interior effect number of alleys remain as now but unequal [?] and better provide for a future enlargement should you require it —It will also give you 182 pews instead of 131 and thereby I think give you a greater return [?] of pews and a larger income after your sales are made as many families will pay nearly as much for a small pew as for a big one. [This last paragraph is in pencil and is barely legible.]

The exposition of the changes made requisite by Munson's suggestion was very clear. Obviously an entirely different building would result from the creation of a single-aisled church, and one so large would almost inevitably be clumsy in appearance. The suggested rearrangement of the pews showed his realization of the difficulties to be met in raising money to build so large a church and was very practical and to the point. One would have said that paragraphs one and two provided more than sufficient reason for retaining the general lines and proportions of his design. The argument of precedent was introduced presumably as one which might appeal with particular force to a layman. By 1850 Upjohn's archi-

ture often, if not usually, made no pretense to archaeological correctness. He was quite willing to combine two or more styles within a single edifice. Even in his earlier work he did not select a single building as the model for his own without making such radical changes as to prevent its being properly described as a copy. Such charges have been made, as at Trinity Church, New York, but on the whole unjustly. Like all competent architects, Upjohn tried to solve each problem on its own merits, to take into consideration the requirements of the congregation both as they saw them and as he felt them, the site, the materials to be employed, and so on.

Much the most illuminating part of the letter is paragraph two. The guiding principle through his whole practice¹³ was the desire to give his churches a completely ecclesiastical character. This sincere devotion led him to work gratuitously for many a small and struggling parish. Year by year he made it a practice to donate his services as architect to at least one church. Naturally this came to be known, and requests for plans continually appear where any commission, if he could not actually give the plans, would be so small as hardly to cover the architect's expenses. To cite many instances would be useless, but a single example is worth giving.

Montrose July 28th 1852

Dear Sir,

Although I enjoy not the pleasure of a personal acquaintance with you, yet the subject I wish to bring before you I feel warrants this manner of approach. I know you are engaged in doing a good for the Church, and that you are always rejoiced to know of her peace and prosperity. A few months ago I took charge of a mission in Luzerne Co. Pa. In this field are now resident at least thirteen thousand souls, and among the whole we have not an Ep. Church. Scranton, where a few years ago there was nothing but a farm house now numbers 3500 inhabitants; it is rapidly improving being the centre of extensive coal and iron operations, the present terminus of the Lackawanna and Western R. R. wh. in a year or two will be extended to New York. Judging from the past the place in five years will contain at least ten thousand inhabitants. There is now in that vicinity a respectable congregation of Episcopalians, the majority of whom are miners or iron workers. A parish has been organized; and a lot of ground, central and pleasant, has been given for a church lot, by

¹³ *Vide supra*, pp. 96-97.

the Messrs Scranton, who are Presbyterians. The vestry are very anxious to build an economical and convenient church to cost about \$2000, with accommodations for 250 or 300 persons. Their circumstances will not warrant them in going beyond this at present. They design building of wood. And further by vote they have made it my duty to obtain or present a plan. Allow me, Dear Sir, to solicit one from you, as a work of love towards this important mission. If you ever prepare and furnish gratuitously, I feel that you cannot any point presented so needy and so worthy of your regard. I would not present this application on such terms, if the parish could remunerate your kindness and trouble.

Will you please let me hear from you when convenient; And praying God to bless you,

I am your obedient Servt

John Long
Missionary in Luzerne

P. S. Please direct to me at Montrose Susquehanna Co. Pa. The name of the parish is St. Luke's.

The church was built as required and was later replaced, when the parish had become more prosperous, by a stone edifice also designed by the firm.¹⁴

The frequency of such applications led Upjohn to prepare drawings for a small mission church (Fig. 68), a chapel, a parsonage, and a schoolhouse, and to have them published under the title of *Upjohn's Rural Architecture* (G. P. Putnam, New York, 1852). New parishes were constantly being formed in the smaller towns of New York State—and for that matter all over the parts of this country then settled. At most these smaller communities could afford only a builder. The nearest architect might be miles away. And yet the rectors and vestries wanted to provide their parishes with edifices as serviceable and churchly as their money could buy. With drawings, specifications, and bills of timber, Richard Upjohn says in his preface, "any intelligent mechanic will be able to carry out the design." The volume sold for five dollars a copy.

The church, estimated to cost about \$3,000, the exact sum

¹⁴ Frederick L. Hitchcock, *History of Scranton and Its People* (New York, 1914), pp. 301–2, ascribes the plan to Joel Amsden, architect, of Scranton. St. Luke's, Scranton, appears in the list of Upjohn's churches in the plan book. Perhaps sketches sent by Upjohn were worked out by Amsden.

naturally depending on local conditions, would seat between 125 and 150. Though simple, it was churchly, and it was provided with a lateral tower, nave, chancel, and robing room. The design and estimate included all essential furniture. The style is Early English, with plain lancets in the nave and a triple lancet in the chancel. The tower, containing a belfry, was to be crowned with a broach spire and shingled, one drawing (Pl. 6) showing the shingles in hexagonal form. This last feature was fortunately omitted from many, perhaps from most, of the buildings as built. A simple pitched roof over both nave and chancel was supported by arched braces. Internally the walls were to be plastered, and externally they were to be covered with boards and battens.

The chapel, to cost \$900, was even simpler. The plan called for a plain rectangle of very nearly the same size as the nave of the church, with roughly equal accommodations. Chancel, robing room, porch, and tower are omitted, however, with the inevitable result that much of the ecclesiastical character is lost. Though much more expensive, the church was generally preferred to the chapel, unless, indeed, the very simplicity of the latter leads it to pass unrecognized. Save for the roof, which is unaccountably provided with a double pitch, the details are much the same as those in the church. It is not easy to account for the treatment of the roof. The reversed gambrel is a logical expression of a three-aisled church, but by the same token it becomes illogical here. The most serious defect, however, is certainly the absence of the chancel. Though the chapel in no way resembles the earlier meetinghouse type in form and proportion, the altar must inevitably have lost some of its sanctity by its presence in the same room as the congregation.

This solution of the problem of the small country church was not reached without much experimentation. It represents, in fact, the fruit of those wooden churches of which some have been mentioned in the previous chapter and others must be considered presently. Moreover, these drawings were more in the nature of general suggestions than rigid and fixed formulae. They were handled with much variation by Upjohn himself, both before and after the appearance of the book. Distant parishes took the same broad view and

felt entirely free to modify these designs as local conditions and expediency might suggest.

For example, St. Paul's, Kinderhook, New York, consecrated June 22, 1852, shows several important variations as compared with the book. The most notable is the position of the tower in the center of the façade rather than on the flank. The door in the base of the tower also differs, but it anticipates that adopted as the entrance of the chapel. Internally the arched braces duplicate very precisely, even down to the mouldings which terminate the arches, the published design. This church was moved from its earlier site in 1868¹⁵ but appears to have been rebuilt as originally designed. Probably no church before this would show as complete a correspondence in detail to the book, which suggests that that project was taking a steadily clearer form in the mind of its author.

St. Mark's, Newark, New York, may have been even closer in general arrangement, and certainly it was in the position of the tower.¹⁶ Unfortunately it is now destroyed except for the outer side-walls. Trinity Church, Warsaw, New York (Figs. 69, 70), on the other hand, is still standing. Consecrated May 25, 1854,¹⁷ this edifice can be taken as a complete illustration of the type. The tower is on the left, rather than the right, side of the church, to be sure, and a porch has been added, the door at least of which is new. Nevertheless, in proportion and detail the tower repeats the published designs almost exactly. The same is true of the trusses and even of much of the furniture.

Generally the architecture of the nineteenth century, and especially that of the Gothic Revival, can be studied more pleasantly from books than from existing works. The old and somewhat romantic lithographs are dreamlike, legendary, whereas the reality is too apt to be tawdry and prosaic. These churches of the type of *Upjohn's Rural Architecture* form to some extent an exception.

¹⁵ Harriet H. K. Van Alstyne, *A History of St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Kinderhook, New York*.

¹⁶ Imogen Russell, *Old-Time Days in Newark and a Half Century of St. Mark's Parish*.

¹⁷ Andrew W. Young, *History of the Town of Warsaw, New York*, p. 205.

Though not startlingly beautiful, they retain the naïve, quaint charm of the drawings to a surprising degree. That fortunate result is due to their complete lack of pretense. Built for the most part as mission parishes, they form modest, dignified, and churchly members of their several communities. The usually meager funds of the parish and the natural tendency of the architect alike eliminated all superfluous adornment. Stripped to their essentials, they must rely on admirable proportions and the balance of asymmetrical masses.

Though these examples all happen to be in New York State, the type was quite literally spread far and wide over the country. Probably every state settled before 1860 could show at least one instance, in many cases made from the book directly and in others with Upjohn's assistance in interpreting or modifying these designs. St. Luke's Church, Cahaba, Alabama, consecrated in 1854, though very similar internally, introduced buttresses on the exterior and also changed the proportions of the spire (now destroyed), if an old drawing can be trusted. Instead of a dignified broach spire with clean-cut architectural lines, the modified version resembled a magnified candle snuffer. Since no records of Cahaba exist in the documents of the firm, one concludes that the design was taken from *Upjohn's Rural Architecture* and altered locally in the process of building. This theory is further confirmed by an old newspaper article preserved in the state department archives of Alabama. A closer instance is the Episcopal Church in Jacksonville, Alabama, which, at least externally, follows its model very faithfully. Other cases occurred in Fort Madison, Iowa, to which plans and specifications were given in 1855 and in Zion Church, Freeport, Illinois, in 1852, though the latter may not have been executed from these plans.

All these churches were erected for the Episcopal congregation, from whom naturally came most of Upjohn's commissions. There are a few examples of his work for other denominations, some of them of sufficient interest to warrant mention. The two Rochester churches, St. Peter's Presbyterian and the Third Presbyterian, formed a knot which required a good deal of unraveling. The former was dedicated October 25, 1853. The Rochester *Times*

Union of June 3, 1921, gives an old cut which shows the church to have been Romanesque, with a reversed gambrel roof, tall round-arched windows, and, beside the church, a tower in three stories with a pyramidal roof. The *Rochester Post Express* in May, 1922, adds, "The church is 50 by 125 feet, of Roman architecture, after plans by Richard St. John [*sic!*], of New York. It is divided into nine bays, with the chancel and pulpit at one end, and a small gallery at the other, under which is a small chapel separated from the main room by an arched screen of stained glass."¹⁸ Once more, then, Upjohn preserved the Gothic from Protestant profanation.

Rather more important is the Third Presbyterian Church (Fig. 71), on Temple and Courtland Streets, in which he did use Gothic. In discussing this building, the local journalists and historians make some pretty wild statements. For instance, the *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle* of September 28, 1927, says that it is "by Charles Upjohn of New York, and is still considered the best example of Gothic architecture in Rochester." The *Centennial History of Rochester* says it was "designed in the Gothic style by Richard M. Upjohn, of New York City. It was built in 1859, and was formerly the fourth house of worship of the Third Presbyterian Church. Mr. Upjohn was one of the founders, and the first president, of the American Institute of Architects."¹⁹ In view of the date, this history may be correct as to the author, but, if so, it is wrong in describing him as the first president of the Institute.

The church is, in fact, a good example of Upjohn's style and rather conservative for the time at which it was built. A fine, sturdy tower with clean lines stands clear of the church on the right of the façade, to which it is connected by a small Galilee porch, a delightful feature recalling the similar device on the flank of Christ Church, Raleigh, North Carolina, built more than a decade before. The façade proper with its lancets below a rose window is weak in itself and could hardly escape monotony were it not for the tower and its neighboring arcade. A roof of single slope and steep pitch covers the wide nave, its surface interrupted but slightly by silly little dormers which do not affect the interior.

¹⁸ Clipping in the Rochester Public Library.

¹⁹ Edward R. Foreman, ed., II, 274.

Externally one would not be surprised to find it an Episcopal church.

The interior, on the other hand, with its very broad nave, its almost flat ceiling supported by hammerbeam trusses of rich detail, and its shallow chancel treated in the form of an apse is markedly at variance with the normal Episcopalian churches of this time, and indeed of some time before. The churchly character in consequence is less marked, being replaced to some degree by the feeling of the "hall and public places of resort" which he referred to in his letter about Grace Church, Utica. Obviously this atmosphere in a building designed for a congregation which avoids the formal ritual and liturgy of the Episcopal service is not inappropriate and may well have been intentional.

Curiously enough, in view of Upjohn's known views on Unitarianism, this church was sold to that group by the Presbyterians, about 1880. In his pamphlet, *A Century of Unitarianism in Rochester*, Harold W. Sanford states, "A story is told, but no letter can be found confirming it, that when he [Richard Upjohn] was asked to advise about its redecoration after the Unitarian purchase, he replied that it already had been so 'desecrated' that he would have no part in its embellishment." There is much in this tale which could be credited, in the light of Upjohn's conduct in regard to the Federal Street congregation in Boston. Richard Upjohn, however, died in 1878 and therefore could not be the one referred to. It is possible that this remark should be applied to Richard M. Upjohn, but it seems not unlikely that it is a late echo of the earlier feud. This is the more probable, since a later minister of this congregation was the son of Dr. Gannett of the Unitarian church in Boston whom Richard Upjohn had so grievously offended—he may well have heard and remembered something about that affair from his father.

The Trinitarian Congregational Church (Fig. 72) in Taunton, Massachusetts, commonly known as the Broadway Church, was dedicated September 29, 1852,²⁰ though it has been somewhat altered since then. One may suppose that Upjohn was less hostile to this branch of the Congregational Church than the Unitarians, since it was the cardinal article of faith of the latter to which he

²⁰ Samuel Hopkins Emery, *History of Taunton*, p. 261.

objected in the Boston instance. Even so, he has avoided the Gothic, adopting an extremely severe form of Romanesque for this hall-like church, with a single tower in front. Nothing is done to relieve the austerity of the random ashlar: the small windows sprinkled over the façade have only sills to interrupt the plane of the wall; the round-arched door is a hole knocked through the thickness of the wall; and even the bracketed cornice does little to remove the stern Puritanism of the design. Although the early settlers did not build at all like this, Upjohn strangely suggests the common conception of the tall-hatted, black-coated New England pioneers in a church made for their descendants in the faith. Internally also, bareness predominates. The low pitch of the roof over the inordinately wide nave is carried on heavy arches which spring from near the floor—an effect that recalls certain armories rather than a church. The small apse, whose colonettes support half-arches which in turn hold the roof, alone betrays that this is not a secular building. Certainly if we accept this as representative of his conception of a sectarian church, we see how slightly he considered them truly religious edifices; this would hardly measure up to his stated purpose in the Church of the Ascension, Philadelphia.

In 1852 the First Baptist Society in Roxbury asked for a Grecian meetinghouse in brick. Why they changed their minds is not known. The Gothic church, dedicated 1853, was brick covered with plaster (removed c. 1919) which was lined off in imitation of brownstone.²¹ It is a fairly large church, with nave, narrow aisles, a low clearstory, and four centered arches. This touch of the Perpendicular is quite exceptional at so late a date as this. The tracery of the great arch behind the elders' chairs which screens the organ is also Perpendicular but so grossly out of scale that one is forced to question whether it can have been original. Upjohn was not in this respect above criticism, but it is hard to believe that he can have gone so far astray as that.

Externally (Fig. 73), though well built, the church has a single feature of interest in the axial tower and spire, the latter of which was struck by lightning and removed in 1935. It contrasts with his earlier spires, which are generally broaches and which are, as a

²¹ Francis S. Drake, *The Town of Roxbury*, pp. 111–13.

rule, placed on the tower as a distinct element, English fashion, rather than growing out of the tower in a series of transitional stages. By chamfering, diagonal buttresses, and other devices, the octagonal form of the spire is gradually evolved through the whole belfry story of the tower, though that evolution is halting and weak. The firm clear lines of its predecessors are lost. This is the type, nevertheless, which is to become more and more common in the sixties. One is inclined in consequence to suspect the hand of the son, the design as a whole seeming not strong, but tricky.

As to Upjohn's domestic work in this period, the older types continued, with an increasing predominance of the Italian style for the larger houses and with a marked decrease of the charming "Gothic cottage" that really reached its apogee in the forties. A good example of the genre was the E. H. Cowing residence in Buffalo, long since vanished but illustrated in the *Picture Book of Earlier Buffalo*, by Frank H. Severance.²² There one saw the picturesque and unintegrated mass, characteristic of the form. It lacked, however, the symmetry of the Taylor house on Staten Island and in its irregularity is perhaps more typical. One cannot but regret the disappearance of so many of the once-common "Gothic cottages." Though not a too serious type, they had a certain quaintness and naïveté which was decidedly attractive.

A small house for A. C. Bradley (Fig. 74) on Staten Island was done about 1852. It should perhaps be described as belonging to the bracketed style, similar in some respects to the so-called "Italian villa" but rather less complex. The silhouette is notably plain and the plan as little interrupted by bay windows and other projections as could be expected at this time. A two-storied octagonal bay protrudes to the rear, with a similar bay of only one story to one side. Porches or piazzas must have made many of the principal rooms rather dark, but their presence was inevitable in the fifties. Not only is the mass relatively simple, but there is more unity in fenestration than is ordinarily to be found in his work. Almost all the openings have bombé heads, those on the ground floor being taller than the ones above. At least there is not the disturbing variety of square, round-headed, and pedimented

²² Page 432.

windows of all sorts of different sizes, shapes, and groups which disturb the King residence in Newport.

Of the smaller house of wood, two examples must suffice, the first dated 1854-55. The George M. Atwater house (Figs. 75, 76), in Springfield, Massachusetts, was two-storied with a heavy gambrel roof, somewhat clumsy in treatment. The second-floor walls were covered with vertical siding and those of the ground floor with clapboards, closely spaced. The upper story projected slightly beyond the walls of the ground story. In the latter, corner posts served to limit and shape each part of the wall. All principal windows were rectangular and of fairly good size. The plan was exceptional in the axial treatment, at least of the center portion. A colonnaded hall, a mere passage only ten feet wide, led to a fair-sized drawing room. It certainly seems an unduly monumental parti for what was, after all, not a very pretentious house. The drawing room was terminated by an octagonal bay, which is in turn surrounded by a piazza, so that the rear of the house was quite strictly symmetrical. The most extraordinary feature was the drawing-room fireplace, which was again on axis, forming, in fact, its interior termination. It blocked what would ordinarily have been a window at that point. Apparently an imitation window was placed there on the exterior, an entirely exceptional feature in Upjohn's work, an element of falsity quite foreign to his nature. Moreover, it must have made the room dark to have only two windows—and those under a ten-foot porch. The people of that time seem to have been less insistent on light and cheerfulness than we are today.

The Hamilton Hoppin residence (Fig. 77) in Middletown, Rhode Island, of two years later belongs in the same group. An early study shows the ground story in stucco and the second and third floors clapboarded, with timber bands breaking up the surface. The later drawing produces a similar mass, apparently in wood throughout. The axial façade and the absence of bay windows, save for two single-storied bays flanking the façade and symmetrically disposed, produce an exceptionally quiet design. As compared with the houses of the preceding period the mass is higher, sticking up like a sore thumb, but at least it has not the

restlessness which too often mars the house of that time. The design is almost exactly like "Villalou," the contemporary residence of Alexander Van Rensselaer.²³

The more important houses of this period are quite generally in the Italian style. Such a one was the J. J. Johnson house, Flatbush (Figs. 78, 79), designed in 1851. The plan is in a sense a development of the Georgian. Although the stair well was partly separated from the central hall by sliding doors, the same axis continued, and both well and hall served as communication from the two rooms which flanked them. In addition, the rooms here were all rectangular, for once without the ubiquitous bay window. Partly as a result of that and also because of the quiet silhouette and the symmetrical façade, the Johnson house provided a more satisfactory impression than most of the houses of this time. While not exciting, and certainly not such as to cause one to stare, it escaped the most obtrusive faults of its time. For one thing, the low pitch of the roof and the absence of the third story made the mass lower than in the Hoppin house, for example. The cornice was treated as an arched corbel table in terra cotta. This structure was remarkable for its lavish use of terra cotta at so early a date in this country.

The famous H. L. Packer residence in Brooklyn, 1852-54, a large and complex edifice, was disposed around a central hall lighted by a well and a circular skylight. The rooms were of good size, but one's first and last impression of the plan, that it was a large area chopped into little bits, remains. The C. Ely house (Fig. 80) in West Springfield, Massachusetts, 1852-54, is still standing and in use as Zollars' House, a restaurant. The hall runs through the house from front to back, with rooms and stair opening from it. In other respects, it exhibits a slightly asymmetrical treatment, with a terrace on two sides. To the east, a Florentine arcaded porch looks out, over well-kept lawns, to the Connecticut River. Fortunately, the present owner fully appreciates the dignity of the historic house and maintains it admirably.

The J. H. Birch house, Chicago, 1852-53 marked the entrance by a tower, a feature present in other designs both before and after

²³ George Champlin Mason, *Newport and Its Cottages*, p. 58.

this time. The central hall here lacked a skylight and, being completely surrounded by other rooms, must have been oppressively dark. In fact, few of the rooms can have been adequately lighted, since one side of the dwelling had a completely blank wall, presumably placed close to another building, and the library on the corner was surrounded by an Italian arcaded porch which doubtless cut off most of the light from its two windows. Somewhat florid canopies, on the second story of the tower and over the parlor windows, often appear at this time and later. The usual inordinate story heights were considered elegant in those days—twelve feet on the ground floor and ten feet six inches on the second story. The treatment of the fireplace mentioned in connection with the Atwater house in Springfield becomes more exceptional in view of Upjohn's answer to his client's request for a false door in the parlor to break the blank wall on one side. The architect pointed out that it was better taste not to tamper with such a wall. This observation suggests the pressure brought too frequently by the client upon the designer, sometimes to the detriment of the finished building.

The John Stoddard house, Brattleboro, Vermont (Fig. 81), was built in 1853. The stables have been remodeled to serve as the summer theater, but the house is unoccupied and in poor condition. An unusually elaborate and broken example, its many gables and round and octagonal bays and turrets produce a highly romantic and unintegrated mass. Though one cannot arouse any enthusiasm for the drab and falsely picturesque brick pile, still it is melancholy to see such houses, once popular and imposing, falling into decay. The time may well come again when they will meet with their portion of admiration. We, who allow them to vanish, will be condemned, even as we reproach those who, through lack of interest or active disapprobation, suffered Classic or medieval buildings to be destroyed.

Two other towered Italian houses remain to be considered. The E. B. Litchfield residence, Brooklyn, New York, 1855 (Figs. 82, 83, 84), is known through quite a complete set of original drawings, labeled, signed, and dated. The façade was almost symmetrical, and the tower was placed on axis over a vestibule, behind

which lay a great hall extending through the house and containing stairs at the rear. It must have been one of the more successful examples of this form of house, with a fine suite of rooms to the left of the hall, quite well lighted for the time at which they were done. Though irregular, except for the front, the dwelling was quieter than most. Certain details, which are well illustrated here, appear time and again, in Upjohn's work and elsewhere, during this period. The tower itself, with a loggia-like treatment of its free story, is a development from that of the King house in Newport. Similar features occur in the Birch house and in the Eastman house in Manchester. The more florid tower of General James's residence is a little different, while that of the Seth Adams house, Providence, 1854, returns to the more stubby type of the King house. A triple-arched loggia on the west side of the Litchfield house, with the arches resting directly on the capitals, recalls that motive which is again adumbrated in the King residence—that mine of motives—but more developed in the Birch house, the James house, and the east front of the Johnson house, among others. Such a porch may be finished with a balustrade or by a pitched roof. A balcony with a more or less elaborate canopy over it, often of florid detail, appears in the King house, the Seth Adams house, the Perkins house in Cleveland (which almost duplicates the King house in this respect), and the Birch house.

The Arthur M. Eastman house (Fig. 85), 1856, in Manchester, New Hampshire, is of the same type. The circular turret at the corner is found again in the Stoddard house, in the Belcher house in Garrison, and incidentally in the still extant Litchfield house in Prospect Park, Brooklyn, by Alexander J. Davis, worth citing as a single instance to show that these motives were not by any means personal. The semicircular bay is familiar already from Upjohn's E. B. Litchfield house, and the two-storied octagonal bay occurs in most of the dwellings mentioned. The porch on the front and side rested on very light shafts, quite different from those of the Florentine type. The colonettes carry segmental arches of correspondingly light woodwork, to form such a piazza as that on St. Paul's rectory, Troy, New York (where it was to be made of cast iron), and on the Perkins and the A. C. Bradley houses. Obviously

each device occurs in many more instances than those mentioned; they should not be regarded as important in themselves but simply as words in an architectural vocabulary.

A last residence of this time is the Henry E. Pierrepont house (Fig. 86), 1856, at the foot of Pierrepont Street, Brooklyn, still occupied by the family for whom it was built. This fine old brown-stone mansion of rectangular form and Italian style has a certain dignity about it which not all of the others can be said to achieve. Though unquestionably "dated" and redolent of nice old ladies in long black silk dresses, veils, and knitted gauntlets, it does not fail of being imposing.

Rather more work of public or semipublic character was handled by the firm during these years than previously. The son's presence in the office and his increasing influence on the policy of the firm may have had something to do with this. Richard M. Upjohn was primarily interested in ecclesiastical work, like his father, but clearly he was rather less of an evangelist in architecture and more of a business man, and one would expect to find him welcoming such commissions.

Nevertheless, he can have had little to do with the Taunton (or Bristol) Academy (Fig. 87), since he was abroad in 1851-52 while it was building. This edifice, which now houses the Old Colony Historical Society in Taunton, Massachusetts, is a two-storied brick structure, more or less Italian in style, and in spite of several interruptions preserves a fairly simple mass with a low-pitched roof and high unmoulded round-arched windows throughout.

The South Berwick Academy (Fig. 88), built 1852-53, was specifically claimed by Richard M. Upjohn in a list of his buildings preserved in the office records. The *Memorial of the One-hundredth Anniversary of the Founding of Berwick Academy*²⁴ says that it was designed by the father, but it is possibly incorrect. This board and batten design with a broad tower on the façade and transept-like members at each end has now vanished. It had round-arched windows with heavy string courses below them and at the story lines. The client wrote to the architect that the first designs were not sufficiently imposing and that they must be so made even at the

²⁴ Page 23.

expense of the interior. From old photographs one would say that the design must have met the requirements of the building without too much sacrifice to the desired architectural effect.

The Utica, New York, City Hall (Fig. 89), of 1852-53, again shows Upjohn's avoidance of the Gothic for secular work. Italian in style, with a staged tower more or less like that of St. Paul's, Baltimore, it suggests the influence of his travels. The building is of yellow brick, with round-arched windows of several sizes above the basement story. The fenestration reflects in a consistent and logical manner the varied importance of the several stories, though the interior seems to have been considerably modified.

Of his business buildings, only two should be mentioned. Trinity Building (Fig. 90), on lower Broadway, was a five-story structure, consistently round-arched and with string courses at the springing of the arches and below the windows of each floor. A simple cornice terminated the building, that and many other details such as keystones being in terra cotta. Mention is made of a lion's head in the same material by a "Mr. Brown, the artist," in all probability Henry Kirke Brown, the well-known sculptor, for whose equestrian portrait of Washington in Washington Square, New York, Upjohn designed the pedestal.

The Corn Exchange Bank (Fig. 91), in New York, on William Street, was very similar, though only four stories in height. Here, in 1854, some attempt was made to group the stories, the lowest being set off from those above by a cornice and the top story treated as a terminal feature, with small paired arches corresponding to the single windows below. Another cornice finished the design at the top. This method of approach to the problem of an office building is familiar from many well-known examples of early skyscraper days. Story was piled on story, like a sectional bookcase, with little or nothing to assure vertical continuity. One might speculate why in such a problem as this, given his familiarity with the Gothic, Upjohn should not have turned to that style as Cass Gilbert was to do in the Woolworth Building. The answer is surely that he felt the Gothic should be reserved for churches and that it would consequently be a desecration of the style to adopt it for commercial purposes. Aside from the building itself, the old Corn Exchange

Bank had interest as the site of the first sessions of the New York Stock Exchange.

It is evident, therefore, that through 1857 Upjohn did not turn to civil Gothic for his public buildings, as Richard M. Upjohn was to do later in the Hartford Capitol. This group of designs, while not exciting, are free of the more obvious weaknesses of the later Victorian style. Like his churches, they are unobtrusive in character, having a certain dignity about them.

The houses of this time show some variation from his domestic work of the forties. The charming type of "Gothic cottage" dwindles and disappears as his sureness in handling this style became greater. Its vagaries, which earlier probably had not struck him forcibly, would prove irritating, and it did not at best provide for the ample accommodation demanded by the larger-house owners of the fifties. The typical house of this decade would be Italian in form with a rather broken plan, though less so than many other contemporary structures, a low-pitched roof, bay windows, high ceilings, piazzas, and a sense of comfortable inconvenience which is peculiarly characteristic. The old, sure feeling for proportion and mass, for clarity of plan, which had obtained in Georgian or Colonial America, carried on through the Federal, and to some extent through the Greek Revival, style. This was largely a matter of tradition, which in most instances could safely be left to the carpenter.

The eighteenth century maintained that some knowledge of architecture was essential to the education of any gentleman. Such an attitude marked the leaders in this country both before and after the Revolution. In a sense it may be associated with those who formed the Federalist party. The Jeffersonian Democrats had almost the same attitude, but it was extinguished by the rise of the Jacksonian democracy. Drawing its character rather from the masses than from intellectual leaders of the Jeffersonian type, the Jacksonian democracy indicates the growing importance of a class which through the nineteenth century was to call the tune of artistic development. Its members had not the birth, training, and tradition of earlier leaders. Consequently they demanded the sort of rules and precepts which were bound up with the Gothic Revival

and with the moral criteria of Ruskin. They had to judge the visual arts by the ethical standards of truth, purity, or fidelity to nature, rather than by the more aesthetic considerations of previous times. Under these circumstances it was no wonder that novelty was mistaken for originality, that ostentation and complication should replace the grandeur of simple proportions, and that ornamentation and richness should be confused.

Upjohn's houses are on the whole typical of their times and but little better than the average. They are not quite so elaborate or quite so restless as many of their compeers. In spite of the pressure of clients upon him, he apparently tried to retain some architectural sense. Such houses obviously are inefficient in the matter of domestic service required and in the disposition of space. Perhaps even more serious is their loss of residential character. While they do not have quite the aroma of musk, the velvet or plush, and the generally fleshly comfort that one finds in many of the houses of the eighties they seem to be moving in that direction. The tall hats and tight trousers of the men and the wide flaring skirts of the women look to us at the present day appallingly uncomfortable, dry, and stodgy. They do not have even the exciting qualities of the more extravagant Victorian fashions. Precisely the same sense of stodginess and dryness appears in their houses. The future may find in them more vitality than we can see now. To us they seem quite dead, interesting only as reflections of pre-Civil War days in this country, free of the flagrant exuberance of the Victorian, but as dull as the three-hour orations made by, and delighting, the men who built such houses.

A far clearer development is noticeable in Upjohn's ecclesiastical work. For one thing the small wooden chapel reached, if not its final form, at least its maturity and was widely used. One may see variations of detail and arrangement, to be sure, but not exactly a development.

The larger churches began naturally with the type which had been firmly established during earlier times. Although not abandoned, it was modified in detail and resorted to less regularly. Dormers let a shaft of light into the black pall of the open roof. Occasionally the clearstory reappeared. Interior polychromy,

usually of fairly restrained form, became common, though by no means universally and completely applied to these churches. The most striking change was the adoption of the apse instead of the square chancel. This implied the gradual weakening of English influence or its adulteration from continental sources. As yet that change was by no means complete. The next decade would carry it much farther. It is suggestive, though coincidental, that this introduction of continental motives occurred at a time when immigration from the Continent was on the increase. That these newer groups in the population had a direct influence is most improbable, but the coincidence remains. It would be well to recall the widespread sympathy at this time for the liberals of the various revolutions of 1848 on the Continent. No obvious change in the mass design of his buildings took place. They generally continue to be asymmetrical, simple of mass, the wall surfaces uninterrupted by decoration and dependent for their effect on proportion and good building rather than on adornment. Upjohn had already found what seemed to him a satisfactory type, one which well expressed his conception of the church and which filled its needs adequately. Until the requirements of the church should change in some fundamental, he could see no reason for alteration of this general form. To work for novelty, at least in church design, would have been foreign to his nature.

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SOME MATTERS OF PROFESSIONAL PRACTICE

BEFORE considering the greatest service of Richard Upjohn to his profession, the founding of the American Institute of Architects, it may be desirable to see why such a step was necessary at that time. The reasons for it interlock with various matters which pertain both to getting and to executing commissions. They show the contrasts between an architect's office a century ago and one today. We may roughly follow the course of a job from its arrival in the office to its completion and to the final payment.

The many instances in which Richard Upjohn gave his services to small mission parishes, though they resulted in a large amount of extra work to him, are necessarily exceptional. In general, an architect has three methods through which his work comes to him. One of the most direct sources is the good will of influential friends. This is particularly important to a young and unknown man. Upjohn was fortunate at the beginning of his career to form such friendships.

The connection with Samuel Leonard in New Bedford brought with it an opportunity to meet Samuel Farrar of Bangor. Through this Richard Upjohn obtained several of his larger early commissions. Then, in Boston, the loyalty of Samuel Atkins Eliot and of Dr. Wainwright not only helped him through early difficulties, but was partly responsible for the selection of him to rebuild Trinity Church, New York. His warm and generous personality won him close friends wherever he went, and naturally his firm faith commended him to the Episcopal clergy.

A second channel through which commissions flooded in, after his name was made, was formed by his existing work. Today an

architect may not advertise without transgressing the code of professional ethics. Upjohn did this quite openly in New Bedford and later in the *Architects' and Mechanics' Journal*. But his work spoke for him more eloquently than words. Seth Adams wrote to comment on the poor, homely appearance of Dr. Huntington's Church in Boston, adding that they might better have paid Richard Upjohn \$5,000 and got a good church.¹

Not only were his buildings famous and widely scattered, but their very importance ensured that they would be reproduced and publicized without further effort on his part. For one thing, each important church, as a method of raising funds, would probably have the architect's original perspective lithographed and sold. Many instances of this still exist. In Trinity Church, New York, mention has already been made of the publicity given to it in the *Brother Jonathan* newspaper and elsewhere.² Something of the same sort occurred in connection with St. Paul's, Buffalo, where Thomas Kirk asked Upjohn, in 1850, to send a sketch of the church to be included on an illustrated map of Buffalo.³

Obviously display of his work in public exhibitions afforded another legitimate field for publicity. The Trinity drawings were asked for by the Apollo Association.⁴ A second instance is the invitation of the Washington Art Association of November 6, 1858, to display his work at their annual exhibition.

Very similar to this is the mention of his work in various publications. Clearly it is unnecessary to give any extensive list,⁵ but reference has already been made to Downing's *Country Houses* which contained a description of the King residence at Newport. The Church of the Holy Communion in New York was discussed in Robert Dale Owen's *Hints on Public Architecture*, and many more could be cited. Today the important work of an established architect generally appears in one of the several architectural

¹ Seth Adams, Providence, Rhode Island, to Richard Upjohn, August 29, 1861.

² *Vide supra*, pp. 63-64.

³ Thomas Kirk to Richard Upjohn, June 3, 1850.

⁴ *Vide supra*, p. 63.

⁵ For specific references. see Bibliography and Appendix.

journals. None of those now existing goes back to the active life of Richard Upjohn. A few short-lived professional periodicals existed from time to time, such as the *Architects' and Mechanics' Journal*, which reported the work in Upjohn's office in 1860. More rarely his work appears in other magazines, such as the *Bankers' Magazine*, or in an article on the architecture of New York in *Putnam's Monthly*. Especially important in this connection are the religious publications, such as the *Churchman* and the *New York Ecclesiologist*. Through the latter, some of his work was commented upon even on the other side of the water in the *Ecclesiologist*, the organ of the Cambridge Camden Society.

As in Colonial, Federal, and Greek Revival times, the appearance of books of general designs covering different types of work continued to be common. To this class belongs *Upjohn's Rural Architecture*. Had he chosen to do so, Upjohn could have had other treatises published as well. For example, as far back as 1842, Dr. Blake asked him to write a book on cottage architecture.⁶ Twelve years later Alexander Kelsey wanted him to prepare a treatise on heating and ventilating.⁷ In these and other instances, Upjohn refused. He was willing, however, to submit a couple of designs for the volume *A Book of Plans for Churches and Parsonages*, 1853.

Competition, the third method of winning work, at no time commended itself to Upjohn. In contrast to such a man as Richardson, who gained many of his important commissions through this channel, Upjohn saw that competition, as then ordinarily conducted, was detrimental to the dignity and standing of the profession. Professional ethics was virtually unknown at that time. The old saying that an architect watched the door of his competitor's office, to see when he left with a set of plans and who called on him, and then pursued the job in question may be more picturesque than accurate. It certainly throws a lurid light on practice and demonstrates only too clearly the need for some organization which might regulate such matters. As competitions were then held, it

⁶ Rev. D. Blake, Brooklyn, New York, to Richard Upjohn, March 1, 1842.

⁷ Alexander Kelsey, Rochester, New York, to Richard Upjohn, November 13, 1854.

was common to have no assurance that even the winner would get the job. The ninety and nine losers got nothing at all for their labor and expense. The circumstances were very different from well-run protected competition, as practiced today.

It was not easy then, nor is it always simple today, to explain to a layman why an architectural competition cannot justly be likened to a group of merchants submitting samples of their wares. Even now the public hardly realizes the expense of making a set of drawings and the uselessness of these same drawings if the building for which they are intended is not built. To make this clear in 1850 was still more difficult. In actuality, unregulated competition would be like asking a group of lawyers to prepare separate briefs for a certain case, with the expectation of selecting only the most promising.

But let us suppose that through one of these methods a commission has come to the office. As the work progresses, innumerable letters pass to and fro from the architect to the client or to the contractors. The bulk of them are quite devoid of interest, dealing inevitably with small details. This owner asks why the drawings, which he has ordered a whole week before, have not arrived. That lady of the house decides, after the plans have been made and the work is already in progress, that the porch should be on the west side of the house rather than on the south. The workmen are laying the floors or setting the marble mantels. Occasionally a message is rather amusing, even if unimportant. Stephen Van Rensselaer writes with some annoyance that the painter's "men have been indulging and on Saturday were seen but a short time in the morning and before noon were so drunk that the man at whose house they boarded had to put them out as they were unfit to come to dinner."⁸

These letters, though less abundant than at the present day, might amount to fifty or sixty for a single job. On receipt, they would be folded in thirds, the name of the writer and the date written at the top on the outside, and then pigeonholed with a bit of cardboard, bearing the initials of the writer and the date of the

⁸ Stephen Van Rensselaer, Albany, New York, to Richard Upjohn (from a copy which is undated).

first letter, folded over the end. It was a simple method of handling correspondence, since it was necessary only to select the proper compartment and thumb through the file until the needed letter was found. On the other hand, imagine the head of a busy office answering in longhand all this correspondence! Very likely the more routine questions were answered by the office staff. Save for a few important letters, copies were not kept.

During the forties messages were delivered by private carriers, such as Boyd's City Express, Swart's Post Office in New York, and Hale and Co. in Boston, all of whom put out their own stamps. Government stamps appear in 1847, but although lower postal rates resulted, at first even government postage cost five cents or more for a letter. Postage was a very considerable item but was usually charged up to the client. For example, postage for eighteen letters from Boston to Gardiner, Maine, in connection with the design of "Oaklands," cost \$3.37½, something over eighteen cents a letter.⁹ Although in 1851 government rates were reduced to three cents, the private carriers still continued to handle some of the local mail at least as late as 1854.

The telephone as a means of communication was obviously still in the future, but private messengers were sometimes employed, and, from 1850, occasional urgent directions might be sent by wire. The first commercial telegraph service established in this country was that from Baltimore to Washington in 1844, but so radical an innovation took time to gain popularity. The earliest telegram preserved in the Upjohn correspondence was that of May 11, 1850, from Jay Hathaway in connection with Zion Church, Rome, New York, sent from there to the architect's office.

The number of drawings made by an architect for any particular job seems to have increased steadily as time went on. In the Federal period, such an architect as Bulfinch or Jefferson would confine himself to a comparatively meager set. Though the quantity had greatly increased by the middle of the century, it still was not commensurable with the multitude produced today. After the usual preliminary sketches to establish the parti, working drawings would be made first at eighth scale and then finally at quarter scale. To

⁹ Account Book No. 1.

these would be added a certain number of full-size details, but fewer than a typical set of the present time.

Tracing paper formed the normal material for the details and quicker studies, but finished working drawings were usually made on Whatman's paper. Since blueprinting was unheard of, copies necessitated complete redrawing. For this purpose, pinholes were pricked through the original set to establish the essential points. Aside from the obvious possibility of error in this system, the time, and consequently the expense, of draftsmen's services was tremendously increased. Surely this must have acted as a powerful deterrent to the multiplication of drawings save when they were absolutely indispensable. Water color was used to indicate materials and to mark out poché in plans. Many examples still exist of fully rendered perspectives intended for display to a congregation or some other client.

Tracing cloth for the more permanent work occurs first in connection with the Eastman residence in Manchester, New Hampshire, in 1856. It may have been used before this time but presumably not often. In Upjohn's office, at least, it was customary to keep a ledger in which was recorded the completion of each set of drawings and their destination—that they were taken or sent to such and such a client or job.

Specifications also were much more abbreviated and general than today, as would be expected from the paucity of drawings. Clearly there was a greater dependence on traditional methods of building, notably in carpentry and masonry. Each job, however, did have such specifications. "The owner [of a house on Thompson Street, New York] to be empowered to appoint a superintendent, whose province it shall be to reject any work or materials he may deem not in accordance with the drawings and specifications." Or as a further instance, "The materials and labor to be first quality of their several kinds and well seasoned—windows front and rear, sixteen lights 10 x 14 American."¹⁰ A glance at the specifications for the wooden church in *Upjohn's Rural Architecture* shows a docu-

¹⁰ H. B. Upjohn, "Architect and Client a Century Ago," in *Architectural Record*, LXXIV (Nov., 1933), 377-82.

ment only a few pages long, in contrast to the extensive directions of today.

One of the first questions that any client must ask, when seeing a set of plans, is the cost. Though no architect, then any more than now, can give a perfected estimate, he must try to satisfy his client in this matter. It is a difficult and dangerous part of his work, since if the estimate is too high, the client may reject the designs, and if it proves to be low, he will certainly complain bitterly in the end. A further danger lies in the probability that the client will remember the architect's tentative estimate on a given design. Then various features are added to the work—the building is enlarged a few feet here, another chamber is tacked on there—the client oblivious that such changes are bound to affect the final bill. Consequently the completed job turns out to be far more costly than the preliminary estimates had led him to suppose. Under these circumstances the architect is apt to be sharply criticized, especially by outsiders who know only part of the story.

A spiteful instance occurred in connection with Grace Church, Utica, New York:

Upjohn-ing a Church—The Genesee Street Episcopal Church in Utica, N. Y., has come to a stand still in this wise:

A wealthy gentleman of Utica, not long since died, and left by will ten thousand dollars to be applied to the building of a church, provided the plan should be furnished by the *extreme* New York architect, Upjohn, and provided the church should cost a certain sum of money, we think, twenty thousand dollars. By this gift, thus foolishly conditioned, the church society was tempted to erect a new edifice, and the plan, as per condition, was furnished with the architect's accompanying estimate, but in this case, as in too many others, the cost far outstripped the estimate, and the church building has come to a stop. The gift, thus hedged in with conditions, had better been thrown by the giver into the Mohawk, for it has tempted the parish into the erection of a building which if ever finished will cost three dollars, over and above the estimate, for every one thus devised.¹¹

An analogous but less malevolent case arose when Dr. Dix made some remarks before the Senate Committee to the effect that the cost of Trinity Chapel had been expected not to exceed

¹¹ Providence *Journal*, September 24, 1859.

\$79,000, whereas it had done so very greatly. This provoked a letter from Upjohn, explaining the case.

New York, March 10th 1857

Hon John A. Dix,

Dear Sir,

In your communication to the Senate Committee on the affairs of Trinity Church it seems that you have stated that Trinity Chapel was never intended to cost more than \$79,000—

In this, Sir, you were mistaken. The estimate presented to the Building Committee amounted to that sum, but it did not cover the furniture, organ, glass, painting, Caen stone walls of interior, tiling, upholstery, flagging, fences, etc. etc. for each of which items, definite [*sic*] estimates were presented before the work was commenced, and in no case was the estimated cost exceeded, or only very slightly, except in that of the Caen stone, which, from various causes incident to the first introduction of the material, for building purposes, and the failure of the parties who furnished it, to fulfil their contract, did cost about \$20,000 more than was anticipated. It is not right, therefore, that we should be made to shoulder the responsibility of the great cost of the building, and we trust that you will do us the justice to set the matter right before the public, as the extensive circulation of your remarks, is calculated to do us great injury.

For the true account of the whole business we beg to refer you to the minutes of the Building Committee in the possession of Geo. T. Strong Esq. their Secretary

Yours very respectfully
Richard Upjohn & Co.

Dr. Dix atoned handsomely for the possible effect of his remark.

New York 12. March 1857

Messrs. Upjohn & Son,

Gentlemen:

In my communication to the Committee of the Senate on the affairs of Trinity Church I had no intention of saying anything in regard to the cost of Trinity Chapel, which could be interpreted into a censure either of the architect or the building Committee; and in my allusion to the "difficulty of adhering to original designs," I supposed it would be sufficiently apparent that the second plan adopted by the vestry had undergone subsequent modifications, which had added to the expence.—

You are at liberty to make such use of this note as you may think necessary to correct erroneous impressions, if you suppose any such impressions have been made.

I am, respectfully Yours,
John A. Dix.

Unfortunately, changes and additions, such as those referred to by Dr. Dix, are the rule rather than the exception in building either houses or churches. When a structure followed plans on which estimates had been made, Upjohn showed a remarkable accuracy. St. Thomas's, Taunton, for example, was executed for a thousand dollars less than the estimated cost.¹² When he guessed right, nothing was thought of it, nor was any publicity given to him; the failures in consequence stand out the more clearly. With so extensive a practice, naturally Upjohn could estimate with some accuracy. It is therefore particularly interesting to find Henry E. Duncan writing to ask about the unit cost of churches.¹³

Final estimates, then as now, were made by the contractors. To aid them, Upjohn worked out a system of quantity survey of materials. The bill of lumber and timber for the church in *Upjohn's Rural Architecture* is one instance. Another is the bill of timber and also of quantities of stone and plastering for Zion Church, Rome, New York, which occupies three pages of the plan book. That this method was new to America in the 1840's is proved by a letter from George Platt on unit prices for painting.¹⁴

Architectural services normally included general supervision of the work, more or less as at the present day. This did not, of course, imply that the architect held himself responsible for more than general inspection. The case of Trinity Church, New York, already considered, was entirely exceptional in that and other respects. On the other hand, the architect expected his accepted designs to be carried out without undue interference from either the contractor or the owner. In one case the client selected the mantels for his house without consulting the architect. Richard Upjohn felt that this action was an infringement of his prerogative. If he was to be held responsible for the success of the final design, he must not be hampered in such fashion and apparently wrote to that effect, to judge from his client's letters.¹⁵

The normal fee on a percentage basis was five percent¹⁶ of the

¹² Samuel Hopkins Emery, *History of Taunton*, pp. 247 ff.

¹³ Henry E. Duncan to Richard Upjohn, July 27, 1863.

¹⁴ George Platt to Richard Upjohn, July 17, 1841.

¹⁵ H. P. McKean, Philadelphia, to Richard Upjohn, April 5 and 8, 1853.

¹⁶ See Andrew Jackson Downing, *Cottage Residences*, pp. 254-55.

cost of the work, a charge which later became general when that figure was selected as standard by the American Institute of Architects. For such a charge, the architect would produce preliminary studies, working drawings, details, and specifications and provide general superintendence as noted above. Much latitude was customary, however, in the application of this figure. For example, where the cost of the job was apt to be large in proportion to the necessary architectural labor, that figure might be considerably lowered. A striking instance of this may be found in office buildings. Even today it is common for a reputable architect to lower the standard charges of the Institute from the usual six percent to four or even less. Richard Upjohn received only two and a half percent for designing the Trinity Building, New York.¹⁷ On the other hand, if the architectural services were large in proportion to the cost, it would clearly be necessary to increase the charge. This might be true with regard to alterations, which are frequently very troublesome, and especially with regard to furniture and decorative designs. A client complained bitterly that Upjohn's charge of twenty-five percent for the design of a tablet was excessive.¹⁸ At first it sounds as though the client was justified, but the cost in time, materials, and so on may well have made this apparently exorbitant fee only fair and reasonable.

A few more items suggesting this same diversity of charge may be worth while. Bishop Johns sent a check for \$200 on a \$5,000 job, explaining that he considered the amount a just payment.¹⁹ In connection with the repairs for the W. W. Billings house in New London, Upjohn left the amount of the fee to his client's discretion. One wonders whether he regretted it later. Billings sent \$75, which sounds rather low unless the repairs were very slight.²⁰ Such a procedure is quite unbusinesslike and must have been unusual, but Upjohn may have felt that Billings was a close personal

¹⁷ Bulkley and Claflin to Richard Upjohn, March 15, 1852.

¹⁸ Levi A. Ward, Rochester, New York, to Richard Upjohn, December 16, 1863.

¹⁹ Bishop Johns to Richard Upjohn, March 17, 1854.

²⁰ W. W. Billings, New London, Connecticut, to Richard Upjohn, August 12, 1853.

friend and may perhaps have been indebted to him in various ways. And in still another instance, it seems that Upjohn made plans for a bank in Newark, New Jersey, for which a local architect, John Welch, was also being considered. Welch wrote to suggest that since they had both made plans they might collaborate on the work at five percent.²¹

Nothing corresponding exactly to the arrangement of cost plus either fixed fee or percentage, which is sometimes used today, appears in any of the records. Such systems demand a fairly complex method of bookkeeping. On the other hand, Upjohn occasionally did work on what amounted to a fixed-fee basis. Several important examples of this practice occur at intervals throughout his life. The Bowdoin College Library and Chapel in actuality cost over \$45,000, but the architect's commission was based on the expected cost of the far simpler and smaller original project, that is, on \$15,000.²² Exactly similar is the case of St. Paul's, Buffalo, which exceeded the estimate but in which the architect's five percent fee did not rise with the additional expenditure.²³

Another situation arises when an architect is asked to submit drawings, but the building, for one reason or another, is not executed or perhaps is given to a different architect without competition. Practice in this respect was by no means uniform. In the Claremont Church, New Hampshire, Upjohn was authorized to submit sketches, but the work was later given to Wills and Dudley. Carleton Chase objected to Upjohn's bill, for preliminary studies. Though the architect had a clear case, it is not always advisable to pursue such an advantage. Upjohn dropped the matter and was prettily thanked for his magnanimity.²⁴ Elsewhere, however, his fee, naturally small in comparison to that for a completed building, was honored by the client. Preliminary drawings were sent for the house of I. K. Mills in Boston, but apparently the finished drawings were delayed beyond what the client felt to be a reasonable time,

²¹ John Welch (Walsh?), Newark, New Jersey, to Richard Upjohn, March 6, 1856.

²² L. C. Hatch, *History of Bowdoin College*, pp. 414-21.

²³ Charles W. Evans, *History of St. Paul's Church, Buffalo, N. Y.*, p. 73.

²⁴ Carleton Chase to Richard Upjohn, February 2 and 11, 1853.

though only a few months at most had elapsed. Upjohn asked for \$250, but settled for \$150.²⁵

Appeal to law was always possible, and sometimes it was necessary to force a recalcitrant client into line. One such case was in connection with the Town Hall, Taunton, Massachusetts. Upjohn had been asked by the Building Committee to send plans; those members belonging to the center of the town preferred his, while others from the suburbs favored the drawings of a certain Earl E. Ryder, apparently a carpenter. When the latter was awarded the job, Upjohn sent in his bill for \$250. The matter was contested, but the jury awarded full payment to the architect when the matter came to trial in 1850.²⁶ Doubtless there were other suits, but no records seem to be preserved of them. It is fair to assume that this instance was unusual. Since an architect depends at least in part on good will, he can rarely, and then only in particularly flagrant cases, afford to resort to this method of collection. He might threaten litigation, as he did in Christ Church, Binghamton, but not actually bring it into court.

Outright refusal to pay the architect's bill was rare when an obligation was recognized. There might be some difficulty through misunderstanding. The architect understood that he was expected to make drawings for Alexander Duncan's house, but the client had not thought that they had been ordered.²⁷ More commonly a client found himself unable to meet the architect's bill. That happened with reference to a few minor alterations to Calvary Church, Stonington, Connecticut, in 1850. G. E. Palmer wrote that, though unable to pay at once, they would do so as soon as it became possible.²⁸ St. James's, Pulaski, had been built in 1849-50. The rector

²⁵ I. K. Mills, Boston, to Richard Upjohn, October 25 and November 10, 1851.

²⁶ Emery, *op. cit.*, p. 598. See also Morton and Bennett, lawyers, to Richard Upjohn, April 25, 1850.

²⁷ Alexander Duncan, Newport, Rhode Island, to Richard Upjohn, September 7, 1860.

²⁸ G. E. Palmer, Stonington, Connecticut, to Richard Upjohn, October 29, 1855.

wrote in 1857 that the vestry had forgot the architect's bill but would try to act on it soon.²⁹

The case of Bethesda Church, Saratoga Springs, New York, is so extraordinary that it deserves to be dealt with more fully. It throws light on Upjohn's character, in his feeling of bitter injustice, and also on the curious conception of the nature of an architect's business in the 1840's. Nothing, in fact, bespeaks so clearly the need for some form of organization within the profession and for education of the layman with regard to its duties and rights as this correspondence.

The first letter from the rector is dated July 29, 1841. After referring to his interview with Upjohn, he states that the church has scheduled the laying of the cornerstone for August 13 of the same year and that Richard Upjohn is to send a plan at once. He adds, "Should the plan you send us be adopted, we shall of course wish to employ you as architect, to direct in the erection of the edifice & its completion." Upjohn answered this singular request at once.

New York August 2nd 1841

Rev W. F. Walker

Dr Sir

I rec^d your letter of the 29th on Saturday last and would have answered it immediately had not business prevented. You state you are "extremely anxious to obtain a suitable plan and that *without delay*" and that the cornerstone of the Church Edifice is to be laid on the 13th of this month. I cannot give you a suitable plan in so short a time. The plan must be made in detail and estimates obtained of the cost of the stone of stone cutting and of laying up do. The cost of timber for the roof floor galleries, if any, and framing do. Of all the wood work for the interior, of painting, glazing, in short the whole building is to be planned, estimated, adapted to the size on which it is to be erected, and brought within the sum specified. You will readily perceive from the above (and my mind suggests many other equally important reasons) that the time is utterly too short to do anything properly. The erection of stone churches is a very different thing from one of brick or wood and requires more reflection and calculation beforehand and more time in execution. I should therefor advise that the laying the cornerstone be postponed, yourself and one of the vestry to come down at your convenience to see me, and at a personal interview of an hour, I can obtain your views more

²⁹ M. E. Wilson, Pulaski, New York, to Richard Upjohn, January 29, 1857.

perfectly and perhaps submit a Sketch for your approval. To make plans for a church and enter into details of estimates of cost is no trifling matter and not lightly to be entered upon & certainly not until the plan of the building is first agreed on. I should like to know if the stone you intend using will cut easy.³⁰

Yours Respectfully,
Rich'd. Upjohn.

But the rector had seen, while in New York, a preliminary sketch of Christ Church, Brooklyn, not with the idea of using it but simply as an example of the architect's work. He insisted that that plan be sent, for the moment, in order to spare the parish the expense of postponing the ceremony. Since the drawing of a large city church would certainly not meet the requirements of location and expense at Saratoga, Upjohn hastily sketched out plans, elevations, and sections which might be more nearly applicable to the problem though without being at all definite or final.

After some delay the rector wrote again, giving the vestry's authority to proceed. The early months of 1842 were filled with correspondence and visits from client to architect, making working drawings, curtailing the design to fit within the appropriation, and so on. On May 30, 1842, the quarter-scale drawings, as well as some larger details, were sent, with a reminder to the rector to state Upjohn's terms to the committee if it had not been done already, terms which for some reason the architect made ten percent rather than his usual five. Nothing transpired for six months, when Upjohn wrote to ask the usual payment on account. This letter was not answered until it had been followed a month later by a second. The matter was postponed until the vestry should meet officially. Another six months passed. Then came the denouement.

Saratoga Springs Aug 4, 1843.

Mr Rich^d Upjohn

Sir,

An apology is due you from the Vestry of Bethesda Church for the delay in answering your letters to the Rev. Mr. Walker asking for a remittance of \$250 upon a/c on charges as Architect &c. That delay has been caused by the difficulty of getting together a quorum of the Vestry,

³⁰ Punctuation added when needed for clarity. Spelling and sentences as in original.

& there was no one individually authorized to act in their name. The matter was, however, at the first legal meeting, referred to a committee of which I am a member, as also Corresponding Secretary of the Vestry, & I accordingly send you the result of their deliberations.

After a careful examination of the records of the Vestry & of the Acts of its Committee, we find no formal adoption of your plans, nor any constructive acceptance of them which, we think, renders us legally liable. Nor do we think our Rector has concluded us, nor could he, never having rec^d any authority from the vestry.

It was from necessity, not from any dissatisfaction, or dislike of your plan, that we adopted another. We changed our church—site—the change led us to an increase of Expense, &, upon a full Examination of our means, we found it impossible to build after your model. While thus situated, a neighboring clergyman sent us a plan of an English Chapel, which, by the addition of transepts, would be large enough for our purpose. Mr. Jardine happened at that time to be here, setting up an organ; he offered to adapt the plan for us, & did so, without charge. The cost of the building will not exceed half of your estimate of the cost of yours, & this consideration was of necessity a controlling one. We ought perhaps to have immediately informed you of our action, but as Mr. Walker had alone corresponded with you, the Vestry very naturally neglected to do so.

We are led from your letters to believe that your plans were not drawn specially for us & are accordingly a little surprized at the extent of the demand you make. Holding ourselves not to be legally liable to you upon any supposed contract Express or implied, Still, though our resources are very small, we feel morally & honorably bound to make compensation for such trouble and expense incurred in our behalf as you are equitably entitled to, but certainly not after the rate of the claim you have made.

We request, therefore, a proposal of the lowest sum which, under this view of the case, you will receive in full of all claims, preferring an amicable settlement to even a Successful litigation & trusting that you will be reasonable in your demand, for otherwise we shall be unable to meet it.

Resp'y Yours

Sid. J. Cowen

Corr. Sec. of the Vestry of Bethesda Church

Not unnaturally, Richard Upjohn exploded on receiving this letter. Though he was a young and struggling architect, the financial loss provoked him less than the flagrant injustice. The quotations in his reply check accurately with the letters in question save

in some trivial matters of punctuation; they can be proved correct. It is, however, hardly credible that Cowen could have been other than deliberately misstating the case. Aside from the correspondence, about which he should have known if he did not, the records contain this item: "It was then on motion, Resolved, that Mr. Richard Upjohn be employed to detail the plan hereafter adopted by the Vestry with specifications & estimates so modified as to bring the cost of the edifice when completed within the sum of \$10,000."³¹ The amount which Upjohn asked, \$250, was two and a half percent on the ten-thousand-dollar church agreed upon by the parish. That is the rate later authorized by the Institute schedule for the partial service of preliminary studies, general drawings, and specifications, and it is one percent lower than the Institute charged when details were added to the above requirements.

New York, Jan. 13, 1844

Mr. S. I. Cowen,
Sir,

In my last to you, I stated I would more fully answer your letter of Aug. 4th, 1843 when time permitted. I have received from the former Rector of Bethesda Church, Saratoga, from time to time a number of letters (all of which I now have by me) directing me to design and execute plans for the New Church Edifice to be erected at the above place. I have also conferred with, and received directions from, the Vestry of said Church, both at Saratoga, New York City, and Brooklyn, L. I., and the last time I was in Saratoga, I conferred with the Vestry of the Church, in connection with the Rector, and subsequently sent up working drawings to a large scale, comprising plans, elevations and sections of walls, buttresses, foundation walls, and walls of the superstructure; all of which were ordered by the Vestry on that day that I met them in Saratoga, on the ground then newly purchased (the new site for the Church), and not the site on the hill, but the site in [left blank] street, and these plans were made immediately on my return home, and sent forthwith, it being then purposed by the Vestry to put my plan on the new site above referred to. My visit to Saratoga was at the request of the Rector and Vestry. They were ready to meet me (knowing I was coming) at the Depot, on the very evening on which I did arrive, though late, having been detained by sickness an hour and a half on the road.

Arrangements were made that evening, and notice given to such gentlemen of the Vestry as were not then present at Judge Marvin's house,

³¹ Parish records, January 11, 1842 (p. 22).

that the Vestry should meet at said house on the following morning, and hear from me a full explanation of the plans, by which their construction might be better understood by them, and that I should accompany them to certain stone quarries in the vicinity of Saratoga, for the express purpose of giving my opinion as to which would be the most suitable stone for said Church Edifice, and that I did go with the Rector and Vestry of said church to the quarries above mentioned, and did make choice of the stone in connection with the Rector and Vestry of Bethesda Church. I did also advise the Rector and Vestry of said church, how they should place the Church Edifice on the new site they had chosen; as to how far from the line of the street it should be; as to the distance it should be placed from an adjoining brick dwelling house; and how high it should be elevated above the street; showing particularly and distinctly in my usual clear, practical manner, how they, the Rector and Vestry, were to proceed with the foundations, and all the matters above referred to, in my absence.

The Vestry did at that time conclude that my design should be preserved entire, but that if the funds were not sufficient to carry out the plan immediately, such parts as could be left off for a while, until they had means, should be so left off, and that the pinnacles which were designed and estimated to be of stone, also the Tower above the ridge of the roof, which was designed and estimated to be of stone, should be left off. Other things, in the interior, were to be left off for the time being, and the Church was to be used with temporary seats instead of pews. The first care of the Rector and Vestry being to get up the walls and cover in the Building, put in the windows, plaster around the window frames, and make it as comfortable as it could be, and finish as means permitted.

Judge Walton put to me this question, when I was before the Vestry at Judge Marvin's house, "Can the side buttresses of the building and the rear buttresses be left off so as to reduce the cost?" My reply was "that the building would be injured both as to its strength and appearance," and it was concluded not to alter it; therefor the working plans, which at that time and meeting were ordered and fully understood by all, then and there assembled, should be drawn, were drawn giving on the face of them all the details so that the most plain country mason could not fail in understanding the plans and of executing the same.

I am governed by the facts of the case as they occurred, and by them only, and I will now state another. This same gentleman did, a short time subsequent to my being sent for to Saratoga, call at my office, and converse with me respecting the New Church to be erected, and in the presence of a gentleman standing by, put this question, "Can the expences of the building be limited to Eight thousand dollars?" My reply was that

they could not, without mutilating the plan and spoiling the effect of the building, but that I would engage to plan them a Church that could be built for \$8000 in all respects suitable for them.

You say in your letter, "After a careful examination of the records of the Vestry and of the acts of its Committee we find no formal adoption of your plans nor any constructive acceptance of them which we think renders us legally liable nor do we think our Rector has concluded us nor could he never having received any authority from the Vestry." In answer to this, I will quote from Mr. Walker's letter to me, dated Jany. 15th, 1842. "At a Meeting of the Wardens and Vestrymen of this parish called for the purpose held on Thursday evening the 12th inst. it was resolved that the erection of a Church Edifice be undertaken to cost not more than \$10,000, and that Mr. Rich^d Upjohn be engaged to make and execute a plan to come within such limitation. Thus, sir, our will and our resolves are before you—they would have been communicated by the Corresponding Secretary of the Vestry but he is absent You will regard this however as official." And again in the same letter, "If it be necessary to omit carrying up the tower higher than the body of the edifice at once to enable you to execute what you may desire we shall be willing to have that omission." And in letter dated April 8th, 1842, "Also state how much may be postponed for future completion in the present plan, in case our funds should not be sufficient to carry all out at once or continuously, and yet the structure be so far finished as to allow of consecration.—How much for instance besides the spire and flying buttresses and how much expence would thus for the time be avoided?" And again in the same letter, "You will oblige me also by furnishing me a copy of the letter I wrote you ordering the plans, it should go upon our records."

Now, sir, you will perceive from the above that I was ordered to draw plans by the Rector of your Church. You may say that I did not come within the sum limited, but it was always understood that the Building was to be completed as far as the funds would allow, which is shewn in two paragraphs above quoted from Mr. Walker's letters. If the design was not acceptable after the estimates were given in, why were the detail drawings ordered, and why not sent back to me, or why not have ordered me to make a design that could be finished within your means, after the conversation I had with Judge Walton to which I have referred.

You stated, "We are led from your letters to believe that your plans were not drawn specially for us and are accordingly a little surprized at the extent of the demand you make." I have looked carefully over all the letters sent on the subject of this Church and find but one from which you could be led to believe that the plans were not drawn specially for you. With that letter was sent, at Mr. Walker's request, a plan of a small Country Church which I had by me, to which that letter refers, and

which I still have. It was understood that that plan was not drawn for you, but the last plan, the details of which you still have, was drawn specially for you, and which the tenor of my letter shews. The plan first sent by order of M^r. Walker is one that cost much time, care, and attention; it is the germ of Christ Church, Brooklyn, the very plan which laid before that Vestry, and through which I made known to them my ideas of what an Episcopal Church should be. When M^r. Walker saw it he expressed much pleasure, and said it would suit his Vestry very well, and consequently sent for it after I had, by letter, stated to him, "I cannot give you a suitable plan in so short a time."

In regard to "the extent of the demand." In my letter to M^r. Walker, May 30th, 1842, I said, "I will thank you to name to the Building Committee if you have not already done so the terms upon which I build the Church Edifice which is 10 Per Cent on the Cost of the same to be paid as you advance with the work at the close of the season." The Building Committee must have been aware of, and accepted these terms as nothing was ever said afterwards on the subject to me.

It is not my intention to take up your letter to answer it as one legally learned. I notice your observation that you find on the minutes no formal adoption of my plans, nor any constructive acceptance which renders the Vestry legally liable. It may be so; the records when brought to light will shew this; but taking it for granted, it is as you say, I remark that if the details I have given of the orders and interviews with the Rector and the Gentlemen of the Vestry be true, in fact, I cannot for a moment suppose these Gentlemen would desire to shelter themselves from the payment of just engagements, under the plea that they are not bound, or the Church is not, because they did not officially resolve it, or if they did resolve, did not through inadvertence or design, place such resolve on their minutes. I say, I cannot think it the intention of any Gentlemen so to act, and, therefor, must think that the Vestry cannot, in view of all the facts, intend so to shelter themselves as the above paragraph quoted from your letter would seem to indicate.

And furthermore, I can assure you that I would have accommodated my terms and my plans to your circumstances, and, as an evidence that I could really have done so, allow me to assure you that I am now engaged in the erection of an Episcopal Church in the Country at a Cost of \$2080, Contract price, pulpit & Desk excepted, and another near a large city at a cost of \$2100, both of good Architectural proportions and truly and really Churches, in the Architectural construction of which, believe me, I feel as much pleasure as in that of Trinity Church, New York.

In fine, Gentlemen, it is not solely on the score of dollars that I have written thus much, but I cannot conceive it right, after using a man professionally, obtaining all his experience, views, plans, &c., then without

a word to cast him on one side as if not a word had been said to him, and as if his time, professional knowledge, cash laid out, experience, and his feelings, were of no consequence, and were to be thrown aside at pleasure. I confess my feelings are wounded by such neglect, and I cannot, even on this score, allow this matter to pass unnoticed, and I would fain believe, on a review of the whole matter, I have some cause for so feeling. I would have preferred engaging anew in constructing plans for your Church, reducing it to such cost as you could afford and should have directed, with plans to be approved, throwing away all my labor, time, and expence bestowed on the plans you have already ordered, rather than that matters should have rested as they now do.

I wish you, as Gentlemen, Officers of an Episcopal Church, to consider what I have said, and see if I have more strongly stated the matter than facts will warrant, and then if you deem it best, to submit the facts to disinterested arbitrators; I will be glad to have it so submitted, and cheerfully abide by their decision, even though they award me not one cent; the arbitrators to be chosen from and set in this City.

An early answer will oblige,³²

Yours Respectfully,
Rich^d Upjohn.

It may have been owing to such experiences as this that Upjohn sometimes, though apparently not as a rule, entered into written contracts with his clients. One agreement is that between George M. Atwater and Upjohn & Co., of November 1, 1852, in regard to a block of buildings which the client proposed to erect in Cleveland. In 1856 he designed an extensive project for Columbia College on the property where now stands Radio City. After the drawings had been made, Columbia decided not to build. A contract was consequently drawn up, of January 6, 1857, awarding to the architect \$1,875, or one and one-half percent on the estimated cost, as payment in full if the designs should never be executed and as payment on account if they were built. He was furthermore to retain the drawings until death, or some other disability, arose to prevent him from fulfilling his professional functions, and he was engaged to be architect for that project at any future time if it should be undertaken. The ownership of drawings was always a moot point, until given some definite status after the founding of the Institute.

³² Paragraphing and punctuation have been added.

Though not a large office by twentieth-century standards, four draftsmen were kept busy as early as 1846, in addition to Upjohn and his son. Their salaries varied considerably, but from six to nine dollars a week would seem to have been normal. Of course, Thomas R. Jackson, as head draftsman, received much more than that, while young men who entered the office to learn the business worked without compensation. When Upjohn was called away on business, Jackson was left in charge. These wages are a little lower than those for which Upjohn himself had worked while in Boston. On the other hand, Upjohn working for two dollars a day in Boston was even then an architect in his own right, fully trained in draftsmanship, with an independent practice and with much practical experience behind him. In 1852 Henry P. Andrews offered to pay \$100 for a place in the office, which certainly speaks eloquently of the esteem in which training under the firm was held. In 1854 Bishop Potter asked how his son was doing "as to diligence punctuality and proficiency—I will also thank you to state when he will, in your judgment, become entitled to some compensation for his services." If draftsmen were needed in a hurry, Upjohn might advertise in the newspapers. Such an instance occurs in the *Courier and Inquirer* on July 16, 1841, and there are others at later times.

Architects' offices, like architectural schools, are not always the quietest places imaginable. Small riots sometimes developed in Sullivan's office when he was absent. This sporadic explosion of pent-up energy bothers no one in the office but may be trying to neighbors. On February 8, 1856, Buckham, Smales, & Greene wrote:

We occupy the Rooms (Nos: 49, 51, & 53) directly under those occupied by you, & find much annoyance from the noise made in your premises & which seems to be produced by a rapping with the feet. We have called in & sent to them requesting its discontinuance, & they promised to stop it, but we find it repeated again today. As the noise seems to be unnecessary, & is a source of great disturbance we trust you will also request them not to continue it. We regret to be obliged to complain, & would not, were it not so troublesome that we cannot occupy our rooms with comfort while it is continued.

Though the record books of the office appear to be incomplete, they suggest meticulous care. A day book runs from July 1, 1846,

to June 30, 1847, and records for every working day exactly how each draftsman was employed. With that system it would have been easy to allocate the expense of each job to its own account, though this does not seem to have been done. Careful accounts of receipts and disbursements for this period may be found, as well as those for the years 1862-73. During his Boston years no such elaborate system was needed, but fortunately an account book is extant for that time; from it much information has been gleaned. A careful record of plans sent from the New York office runs from July 6, 1846, to April 20, 1854.

Nothing displays Upjohn's standing and importance in the profession so lucidly as the flood of letters asking his help and advice on all sorts of matters. Even to mention all of them is an obvious impossibility. One of the most interesting is his service, with Thomas U. Walter, in testing and reporting to Congress in 1856 on building materials. His opinion was asked, in 1841, on how to finish wood mullions to look like stone; on where to get Caen stone, after he had used that material in Trinity Chapel; on the cost of white pressed brick, which he had used and recommended; on the grounding of brickwork; and on the merits of balanced sash.

He would be asked to arbitrate between clients and architects or between clients and contractors. Or he might advise an architect in the matter of proper professional charges. For example, William L. Woollett, Jr., who in 1855, had designed the State Insane Asylum at Syracuse, wrote for advice on what fees he should ask when a change of site, after plans had been made, necessitated further drawings. The same sort of thing had occurred in 1842, in connection with Rector's design for the new State Hall at Albany.

A more delicate matter of professional ethics concerns an architect's interest in building materials. The strictest men of the present day will have no financial part whatever in any firm producing materials which might have to be specified by them in buildings. Certainly it is safest that way. Upjohn held stock in the New York and New England Brick Company in 1856. There is no evidence to show that he favored this company in his practice, but any time he used their materials, he inevitably laid himself open to suspicion.

Like his fellows, he had many offers of percentage on materials specified in his buildings. For example, in the Johnson house in Flatbush, where terra cotta was used extensively, and again in the Trinity Building, the manufacturer offered him a ten percent cut on that material. It is not apparent that he accepted this offer, and indeed it would have been a flagrant breach of ethics to do so. At another time, a French firm wrote to ask him to serve as their agent for building stone in America, which also failed to interest him. Such propositions are not unknown today, but they were far more common before the code of professional ethics had been formulated, and to some extent enforced, by the establishment of the American Institute of Architects. The need for such a body must have long been apparent to Upjohn, as well as its possible value to the profession as a means of interchanging ideas and of educating the public. That body Upjohn founded and nursed through its formative years.

FOUNDATION OF THE INSTITUTE

THE FIRST architectural organization in America of which any record has been preserved gloried in the title of "The Brethren of the Workshop of Vitruvius." Almost nothing is known about this group beyond its name and that it was in existence in 1803. How much earlier it may have been founded and how much later it lived, who were its members and what were its aims have yet to be discovered. Since it described itself as an order, it may have been a fraternal organization. McComb, one of the architects of the New York City Hall, is said to have belonged to it. Its membership can hardly have been large, since only four names in the City Directory confessed to the profession of architecture and only one of them, Levi Weeks, failed to cite some other occupation. Probably builders were admitted, and very likely amateurs as well.¹

More important is the American Institution of Architects, founded at a meeting in the Astor House, New York, on December 6, 1836.² Alexander J. Davis was appointed chairman³ and Thomas U. Walter secretary. Both were eminent then and are still remembered as leaders of the profession in their time. Of the others present at that first gathering, Isaiah Rogers and William Strickland were the most famous. Ithiel Town, Minard Lefever, Asher Benjamin, Alexander Parris, and Ammi B. Young endorsed the

¹ *Architectural Record*, XXXVIII (Aug., 1915), 287-88.

² T. U. Walter, Address in *Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Convention of the American Institute of Architects*, 1870, pp. 207-8.

³ Or William Strickland as president. Walter says in his address that Strickland presided on December 7, 1836. See also George Champlin Mason, "Professional Ancestry of the Philadelphia Chapter," in *Journal of the American Institute of Architects*, I (Sept., 1913), 371-86.

movement. Taking these two groups together, it is clear that the American Institution of Architects included practically all the leaders of the profession. The meeting of May 2, 1837, adopted a constitution and bylaws. Walter stated in his address before the Fourth Annual Convention that the Institution's membership consisted of twenty-three professional architects and two associates, twenty-five in all, with an equal number of honorary members. These men were, however, widely scattered, in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and, if we assume that all those who sent letters approving the Institution were included in Walter's figure, Vermont, Baltimore, and New Orleans as well. New York had the largest contingent, in all nine of the names given by Walter, while Boston and Philadelphia had four each. Meetings could not be held regularly, and though the start had been promising, the time was not ripe for this undertaking.

The idea of forming such a society was probably suggested to one of the founders by the formation of the Royal Institute of British Architects.⁴ Though the latter's charter was not granted until January 11, 1837, meetings began to be held in 1834. Especially suggestive is it that the word Institution should have been adopted by the British body during its meeting of June 3, 1835. What could have been more likely than that some American architect should have heard of this association of professional men, perhaps even attended a meeting of the society as a guest, and been fired to try to duplicate it in this country?

Richard Upjohn had long recognized the unsatisfactory state of his profession and the need for an active organization to foster fellowship among architects, to discuss their problems, and to clarify the various relations of the architect and the community. In 1857, about the middle of February, these meditations bore fruit in the form of an invitation to a number of his brother architects in New York to meet in his office for the purpose of forming a society.

That Upjohn was the moving spirit is abundantly clear, even though no copy has come to light of the letter of invitation he sent

⁴ J. A. Gotch, ed., *The Growth and Work of the Royal Institute of British Architects, 1834-1934*, *passim*.

to his fellow practitioners. The letter of acceptance from J. W. Priest is preserved. Moreover, Upjohn's attempted resignation from the presidency of the Institute in 1870 refers to its foundation in these terms:

Thirteen years have now elapsed since the Architects of this City were invited by your President to meet together for the purpose of considering the expediency of forming an association, which should unite the scattered disciples of the profession by some sensible bond of sympathy and co-operation. The issue of that meeting was the organization of the American Institute of Architects.

Thirteen men consequently gathered in Upjohn's office in the Trinity Building. In addition to Upjohn and his son, Edward Gardiner, Wrey Mould, H. W. Cleaveland, Leopold Eidlitz, Henry Dudley, Richard Morris Hunt, Frederick A. Petersen, Charles Babcock, Joseph C. Wells, John Welch, and J. W. Priest attended. Most of these men were well known at the time.

After Upjohn, at Wells's suggestion, had been appointed chairman of the meeting, he stated that its purpose was the formation of a society of architects and asked for comments. Petersen replied that since the idea was primarily in the chairman's mind, he should outline his conception of the objects of such an association. Upjohn then said it was his hope that a group might be formed which would hold regular meetings for discussion of all matters directly or indirectly pertaining to the profession and for greater cohesion and fellowship among the architects themselves. Probably most of the men were already predisposed in favor of this move. Mould, for example, called attention to the dignity and stability it would give to the profession, a position which it enjoyed abroad but not in this country. Petersen, on the other hand, advised the members to proceed with caution, to do nothing definite until all other architects had been notified of the scheme.

The chair felt that little would be gained by delay, that the impetus needed to launch the movement might evaporate, and that while others should undoubtedly be invited to join, the future could attend to that. The formation of a national society having the requisite vitality would take time but could most easily be achieved by starting with a group of New York architects. When the meeting

had agreed to these general propositions, the chair appointed a committee to draft a constitution and bylaws.

Hunt proposed that a two-thirds vote be necessary for admission of additional members to the society. On this basis invitations were sent to Calvert Vaux, John Davis Hatch, John W. Ritch, Frederick C. Withers, Frederick Diaper, Joseph Sands, John Nottman, Thomas U. Walter, George Snell, E. Cabot, and Alexander J. Davis. At the same meeting, Hunt, as secretary, was directed to draft two form letters. The first, a notification of election, stated the initiation fee to be ten dollars and the "contributions" twelve dollars, payable quarterly. The second, with commendable foresight, informed the member of his financial delinquency.

This first gathering, from which grew the American Institute of Architects, set the ball rolling rapidly. That it was a new venture, entirely unconnected with any predecessor, is apparent. Not one of the men present at this meeting appeared in either of the lists given by Walter as belonging to the American Institution of Architects. In 1870 Walter gave the annual address to the Institute in the absence of Richard Upjohn, in which he attempted to show that the existing organization was merely a development of the earlier one, in fact a "reorganization" of 1857. In this misstatement, the speaker may have been trying to emphasize the age of the body of which he had been secretary and to imply that he and Davis had been the true founders. Since the "Institution," by his own statement, had languished without meetings for the better part of twenty years, this is clearly incorrect. George Champlin Mason⁵ repeats this error and goes further to say that 1837, rather than 1857, should be considered the real foundation of the Institute.

Davis wrote, before the next meeting on March 10, to signify his approval of the formation of the new society, but Walter came from Philadelphia to take part in the discussion. The committee offered its draft of the constitution and bylaws, which were then considered point by point.

The meeting accepted Walter's suggestion to change the name from the New York Society of Architects to the American Insti-

⁵ *Architects and Their Environment*, pp. 25-28.

tute of Architects, implying for the future, if not for the present, a national organization. Although members from other cities were welcomed, such as Walter himself, it remained for some years fairly completely a local body. This was fortunate. In its infancy, cohesion among the members through direct and frequent meetings was essential, if the Institute was not to follow the Institution into oblivion.

The constitution of the Institute stated its purpose to be in general the advancement of the profession and its members, through meetings, lectures on professional topics, and the formation of a library. A board of trustees would handle the business. Two monthly meetings during the winter and one meeting each month in summer, if the members could manage to come, would ensure the solidarity of the group, though regular attendance so frequently might be an ideal rather difficult to achieve. Architects from other cities were to be visiting members only, those in New York, who were able to attend the regular meetings, enjoying full status. To these classes was added, on March 13, that of associates, who lacked voting power and who were, so to speak, on probation.

Political discussions were banned from any of the meetings, a most wise provision in view of the heated passions of pre-Civil War days. Clearly to tolerate such arguments would promote hard feelings and dissension among the members, which was to be avoided at all cost. Very wise also was the amendment to extend this prohibition to religious subjects, a matter which might be less necessary today. Discussion of the constitution and bylaws occupied the meetings of March 10 and 13, after which a second committee was instructed to revise the language. Walter took an active part in these discussions, ending by giving the secretary documents connected with the older Institution and by showing drawings and photographs of his work in Washington.

Pursuant to the constitution, a board of trustees was elected, probably on March 26: Richard Upjohn, Walter, Petersen, Ritch, Hunt, Wells, Diaper, Dudley, and Davis. Apparently visiting members could hold office, even though they might not be able to attend all the meetings. The board first met formally on April 7,

1857, and at once set to work to prepare such documents as might be necessary for incorporation.

On Monday, April 13, all but Walter, Wells, and Diaper met for luncheon at Delmonico's. Thence they proceeded to the City Hall to accomplish the business of incorporation. Hunt, as secretary, recorded the events of the day:

Judge [James I.] Roosevelt accorded to us the same in a most courteous manner, making us a short speech upon the occasion, wherein he stated that he feared not that our Institute would fail for we were above all others aware of the necessity of a solid foundation whereupon to construct an edifice and that consequently he felt assured that we had laid our cornerstone as on a rock.

Hitherto the meetings had all been in Upjohn's office. That of April 15, 1857, was held in the chapel of New York University. The members signed their names to the printed constitution. Petersen suggested that copies be sent to all architects in the United States and to all societies abroad. Fortunately Walter opposed this as lowering the dignity of the society. In his opinion it would be far better that the Institute set up high standards and live up to them, thereby bringing others to it rapidly. Walter also suggested that the *Crayon* would be glad to be the official organ for the Institute, and after some discussion its offer was accepted for the time being. The same gentleman, who seems to have had a mania for public speaking, then rose to offer a few remarks on the value to the profession of papers prepared by members and urged upon them the preparation of such papers. He looked forward to ultimate publication, paralleling a similar action by the corresponding British society.

The meeting of May 5, 1857, was the first regular meeting after incorporation. The president took this occasion to sum up in his address what they had accomplished and what remained to be done.

Our efforts in the formation of the "American Institute of Architects" have been successful. A few weeks past we were what we have always been, single handed—each doing his own work, unaided by, and, to a great extent, unknown to each other; possessing no means of interchange of thought upon the weighty subjects connected with our profession, pursuing our individual interests alone, and separately endeavoring to advance, as we were able, each one his own respective position. That history

s now past. A quarter of a century is sufficient time, nay, too long, for an experiment in working to such disadvantage. We were ripe for the change which has resulted in our union, and we may well congratulate each other that we are able to meet on common ground, to consider and execute all those plans which will "promote the scientific and practical perfection of its members, and elevate the standing of the profession." . . .

We profess to be men who reflect on what we do. Let our works prove our professions. We have no remains of ancient Art to fall back upon, no examples to which we can appeal for information whenever and wherever we turn. Throughout this broad land, all is barren space, a wild, a wilderness. And this paucity of examples will oblige us to think more intently on our work, to deepen our thought to a more close and thorough investigation and search after truth, to purity of conception in our designs, and to a nobler development of the talent committed to us; and more yet, to an humbler and purer acknowledgement that our talents, few or many, are gifts from God. . . .

The good effect of our coöperation as members of the "American Institute of Architects" upon our country will be certain to result in elevating the taste of its inhabitants, and consequently removing the many restrictions now imposed upon us by the prevalent ignorance of the public mind on almost every subject connected with our profession.

It is proper before concluding this paper to consider what will most facilitate both the pleasure and improvement to be derived by us at our stated meetings. If that which we have to communicate to each other be said in a plain succinct manner, free from any attempt to pretentious speaking, we shall profit by it, by saving time, and by the avoidance of mere words. Each person during the intervals of meeting may have some subject before him suitable for discussion. He will familiarize his mind with it. He will exercise himself to form useful illustration, and to construct careful exemplification, his private conversation on the theme will give him clearness and readiness in expressing his thoughts at the meetings of the Institute. Due deference for the opinions of others should be entertained, but opposite opinions, though presented with freedom, should be spoken and received with entire good will.

These remarks are submitted to you from an earnest desire for the prosperity and success of our association, wherein we hope to learn to cherish mutual respect and kindly feelings of brotherhood, as well as to develop and establish in this country the true principles of our art.⁶

The Institute was thus launched with noble aims and high hopes for the future. It was one thing to enunciate these aims and quite another to carry them out. To hold regular, frequent meetings at-

⁶ *Crayon*, IV (June, 1857), 182-83.

tended by a large proportion of the architects was to prove difficult enough in itself. For busy men to prepare papers, even on professional subjects, was still harder. It says much for their enthusiasm that they did prepare some such papers. The first, by Upjohn, was on heating and the best type of flue, his conclusion being that metal ducts were apt to rust quickly and that built-in flues not susceptible to this kind of deterioration were preferable.

A most curious discussion, in the light of later developments, was that following the paper of Calvert Vaux, on June 2, 1857. He considered the possibility of introducing, in this country, houses containing several apartments, such as those in Europe. He pointed enthusiastically to the advantages in economical central heating and in janitorial service, to the small cost to the occupant and the high return to the owner. Many of his colleagues felt that the form might be well enough for European cities but that it would never take root here, where land was so available and where people preferred to sit on their front porches and watch their neighbors! A discussion of photography on August 4 brought out divergent opinions as to whether its value in familiarizing architects with foreign buildings and details would compensate for the presumptive loss of real knowledge which could be acquired only through extensive sketching.

For over a year papers were forthcoming with much regularity, but by summer in 1858 the supply was running low. The president mentioned the matter in his annual address, as well as on other occasions, but by 1859 it was necessary to assign topics rather than to rely on voluntary contributions.

Certain matters proved most vexatious. One was the preparation of a seal for the Institute. Though all agreed, in a meeting of April 15, 1857, that this should be done and that the members should submit designs under fictitious names, each was reluctant to do so. Again and again the topic presented itself, and each time fine resolves were made that it should be settled at once. Not until August 2, 1859, was the design by Henry Dudley finally adopted and its author entrusted with its execution. A similar difficulty arose in connection with the diploma of the Institute.

Obviously matters of purely professional interest would be

warmly discussed. Such a business is the ownership of drawings. Laymen assumed that if the architect accepted any fee, his sketches belonged to the client, whether or not the building was erected. Only the more important and established firms were able to contravene this point. That Upjohn did so is apparent from the contract with Columbia College in 1857. Both father and son steadfastly maintained that drawings were instruments of service, belonging to the architect just as a carpenter's tools belong to a carpenter, and that for his own protection he must retain them. This attitude was adopted by the Institute.

Competition early engaged the attention of members. On this point there was room for wide divergence of opinion even among the architects themselves. The president had constantly set his face against it, as a practice calculated to lower the dignity of the profession and to result in serious losses to its members. On September 1, 1857, two papers were read on this topic, Henry Dudley taking the affirmative and Edward Gardiner the negative.⁷

The two men did not precisely contradict each other—they agreed that competitions as then conducted were preposterously unfair and ill regulated. A competent jury was needed, composed at least in part of able and experienced architects who were qualified to judge the work of their peers. Competitions at that time were apt to be decided by a body of laymen. Prizes should be sufficient to induce important architects to enter. Gardiner felt that the popular notion that in competition young and unrecognized genius was afforded an opportunity was sheer humbug. He believed that it would be far better if the architects of public buildings were selected *ad hoc* by competent committees. Older men of proved ability ought to be awarded such commissions, since their experience alone could prevent waste in the design and erection of such structures. Younger men should deal with smaller private jobs which at that time, he said, were apt to be given to recognized architects.

Upjohn had very decided ideas on the subject. In his address at the First Annual Convention of the Institute, he expounded its

⁷ *Crayon*, IV (Nov., 1857), 339.

evils, in particular judgment by nonprofessional juries, and offered a solution of the difficulties.

General competition—a sorry subject for architects. It burns the fingers of those who meddle with it; it is a chronic infatuation, an *ignis fatuus*, a Will-o'-the-Wisp. It leads on the unwary to trust in the necessarily uneducated and uncertain judgment—in so far as our speciality is concerned—of committees, the successes in life of whose members have, in nine cases out of ten, been gained in business pursuits, entirely out of the way of art, science, or mechanics. It blinds the competitors to every other work but their own, however weak that may be. This rushing pell-mell into the arena, to compete for the suspended prize, may be very pleasant to the lookers on, to the committee-men, and to those of the ring, who gather up the profits; but, at the final decision, when judgment has been passed and the prize is awarded, the competitors find themselves as full of aches and sores as a whipped prizefighter, or a chronic invalid, just breathing and no more.

Now, my good friends, this species of infatuation (I can call it by no better name), should be shunned. I pray you to let general competition alone. Avoid it as an unclean thing, which can produce only heart-burning and disappointment; and by abstaining, you will give it its death-blow. But while the public see us eager to give away our wits and culture, it will be a pastime to it to throw out the bait for our anxious souls to nibble at. And we shall get but nibbling, unless it be something worse. . . .

When the public understand that we are in earnest, and intend to abide by the rules of business which we have laid down, it will respect both the rules and their makers. In illustration of this, let me call your attention to an instance you will find cited in the report of the New York Chapter, showing that the record of the refusal of the New York architects to compete, on unremunerative terms, for the Post Office, resulted in a fair compensation being offered to professional architects in Philadelphia, for preliminary designs for a public building there. Would this have been the case if the New York protestors had shown themselves weak-kneed, and taken whatever pittance was thrown to them? . . .

The best way to remove the evils attending competition would probably be to resort to some such system as the following: Appoint five Commissioners, of good repute, and three non-competing architects, whose joint business shall be to make the award. The plans submitted for examination should be placed before the Commissioners and the architects jointly; and the architects, after a careful examination, by themselves, of each of the designs, should recommend to the Commission such plans as, in their judgment, they shall deem most worthy; their decision,

of course, implying the nomination of the successful competitors. We ask to be judged by our peers.

Assuming that we have under consideration a work of national importance, the number of competitors should not exceed ten, nor be less than five. Each of the competitors should be paid a sum sufficient at least to remunerate him for his expenses. But it should be understood that the designs presented by each and every one of the competing parties are to be designs furnished expressly for the proposed building, and no other. All the competitors should draw to a similar scale, say one-quarter of an inch to the foot. No coloring should be allowed. Each drawing should be a line drawing.⁸

The dues of the Institute were not large, but neither were the expenses, and for a while it flourished financially. Then the clouds of the Civil War began to grow; business became unsettled, and the architects found it increasingly difficult to meet their obligations. As early as 1857 they had rented a room from New York University and in the following year found it desirable to add another. The purchase of furniture and equipment absorbed their funds. By the end of 1859 the treasurer reported that he personally had had to advance \$29.15 to meet urgent bills, though members were in arrears to the extent of \$135. The debt to the treasurer increased to \$75.60. Moreover, the rent was in arrears.

The trustees, therefore, decided to assess each city member ten dollars, which they hoped, together with the annual dues for 1861, would extinguish the debt. Under ordinary conditions it probably would have done so, but the outbreak of the Civil War strangled business so far as the architects were concerned. Income fell off alarmingly, and by June the deficit had risen to \$450, with only \$41.41 in the bank. They had already sublet one of the rooms. On the expiration of the lease on June 2, 1861, the other also had to be given up. The furniture was sold at a sacrifice, the money being used to pay the back rent due New York University, which met the Institute in its time of trouble half way, by rescinding the rent for the last two months. Ritch offered to take care, in his own office, of the books and of such furniture as had not been sold. Meetings

⁸ *Proceedings of the (First) Annual Convention of the American Institute of Architects*, 1867, pp. 8-9.

once more were held in the offices of the several members, especially in that of Leopold Eidlitz.

Attendance, which had been excellent before the war, also declined distressingly. Simply to transact current business, they had to declare that seven members would constitute a quorum. Finally in the meeting on February 2, 1862, the Institute gave up the struggle; all activities were suspended until after the close of the war.

As it happened, they did not have to wait quite that long. By the early months of 1864 the war was clearly coming to an end, and business began to revive. The trustees convened and decided that the time had come to resume operations. The quarters on Washington Square, being uptown, had proved inconvenient. To stimulate attendance, a room (No. 105) was rented in the Trinity Building, 111 Broadway, and meetings were held in the afternoon instead of in the evening. The financial slate was cleared by wiping off all unpaid dues up to January 1, 1864. Hatfield, as treasurer, sent notice of these decisions to the members on March 22, 1864. The measures, thanks to better times, proved successful. The assets of the Institute rose rapidly. By 1866 they stood at \$858.44, much of which, however, represented the value of the library.

Membership became more and more widely distributed, from Boston and Providence to Cincinnati and St. Louis. Obviously those architects could not attend the meetings and, save for the receipt of printed matter, realized little direct benefit from the society. The charter of the Institute permitted a national organization, and by 1867 the time seemed ripe to establish it. The New York members took the initial step on March 19, 1867, by forming themselves into the New York Chapter of the American Institute of Architects. They expected that their colleagues in other cities would at once follow this lead and found their own local chapters. Perhaps the high standards for membership hampered such growth. In any case, it was not until November 14, 1869, that the first chapter outside New York was formed in Philadelphia.

To stimulate this sort of thing, the trustees wrote a letter to a number of prominent architects in other cities urging them to assemble their fellow practitioners into similar chapters. They

stated the scope and purpose of the Institute and defined succinctly an architect's professional duties to his client. They stressed the value to all parties engaged in building of agreement among architects on the matter of professional practice. Then followed a terse description of classes of, and requirements for, membership, of possible future problems to be considered by the Institute, and of the duties of chapters. These were "to establish libraries and lectures, to educate the architectural students and draughtsmen of their communities, by making them Junior Members or in other words, to hold meetings for discussion and the reading of papers, and to aid in every way the general purposes of the Institute."

Evidently this letter was effective. Chicago formed a chapter (later the Illinois Chapter) in 1869, Cincinnati and Boston the following year, and Baltimore in 1871.

The schedule of professional charges was clearly one of the most valuable contributions of the Institute. The figures adopted were not markedly different from those which Upjohn had employed for years. Their significance lies in the sanction given to them as representative of general practice. Full professional service, including superintendence, was five percent on the cost of the work. Preliminary studies brought one percent. If, to this, general drawings and specifications were added, the fee was two and one-half percent; when details also were required, it was three and one-half percent. These charges were clearly high if the architect's service was small relative to the cost of the work. This was recognized in allowing a three percent charge for stores. On the other hand, the normal rate was too low for small jobs and for decorative work, and a correspondingly higher charge was permitted. Traveling expenses of the architect were to be charged to the client.

The growth and expansion of the Institute called it to the attention of its sister organization in England. As early as 1859 Sir G. G. Scott had been elected an honorary member of the American Institute. In 1867 Richard Upjohn was elected honorary and corresponding member of the Royal Institute of British Architects, and about the same time to the Royal Society of Portuguese Architects as well. Documents were exchanged. The R. I. B. A. transactions were sent to New York and placed in the library of the A. I. A.

William R. Ware in 1867 transported to London a collection of photographs of American architecture; these were gratefully received by the British, who showed much interest and appreciation of the work which was being done on this side of the ocean.

One of the duties enjoined on members of the A. I. A. was the establishment of libraries. The president interested himself in this matter and from time to time alluded to it in his annual addresses, suggesting that each member make it his duty to contribute one book a year, and again that a collection of casts be made of the best examples of European architecture, presumably models and details. That these efforts were successful has been indicated already in giving the assets of the organization. After the formation of the New York Chapter, the committee consisting of Hunt as chairman, Bloor as secretary, and Wight, Sturgis, and Gambrill kept minutes of their regular meetings, which show that many magazines, both American and European, were purchased.

Another active committee was that on examinations, of which the president served as chairman for years. To this body was entrusted the delicate and unpleasant task of inspecting unsafe buildings and, when necessary, of recommending their improvement or condemnation. Furthermore, they were called upon to examine candidates for the office of building inspectors. Occasionally plans were submitted by the Superintendent of Buildings when he felt uncertain as to the propriety of authorizing them. An instance of this occurred with the enlargement of the A. T. Stewart store in New York, by John Kellum, in 1867. The committee was willing to admit the feasibility of iron construction but felt that the drawings were too vague for them to express an opinion in this particular case.

One would hardly expect a person who developed as a medievalist in the bitterly controversial and vituperative atmosphere of the Battle of the Styles to be well disposed toward Classic architecture and its derivatives. The attitude shown in a paper, undated but perhaps intended to be read at the Baltimore convention in 1875, is not entirely unexpected, even though Upjohn had during his earlier years worked in the Greek manner.

The present state of the Art is certainly in advance of that of some thirty or forty years ago. Then, it seemed that the thought or conception of a Church, if one were needed, was a Doric Temple; of a Court House, a Doric Temple; of a State House, a Doric Temple; of a Country residence, a Doric Temple. In fact, every structure whatever its purpose, resolved itself into a Temple of one or other of the orders of classic architecture.

It is the more astonishing to find the president, in 1869, at the Third Annual Convention, reading a paper on "The Colonial Architecture of New York and the New England States."⁹ The archaeology is not entirely above reproach. He described the Redwood Library in Newport as by "Smidert" rather than Harrison, and of course Faneuil Hall in its present form dates from after the Revolution. The paper lists many pre-Revolutionary edifices, with which he had become familiar in the course of his own practice. The sites mentioned are those in which he himself had worked: New York, Albany, Boston, Newport, Providence, and New London. After recommending that members of the Academy of Design make studies of some of those fine old buildings before they should disappear, he complimented their setting in the landscape.

And let me ask, may we not gain a valuable lesson while contemplating these works of our forefathers? Old and quaint as they are, will we not see by comparing them with the works of our own hands that their authors regarded the law of harmony between a building and its surroundings better than we do at the present day? Careful observation must convince us that in the generality of cases they were ahead of us in this respect, and that in the treatment of country houses, especially, and even the most humble ones, they displayed a sympathy with the beauties of nature seldom expressed at the present time.

Probably few today would quarrel with this point, though many might feel that it is one of the minor matters in which the Colonial outstripped its successors. To find him describing these works as quaint is curiously suggestive. Generally, old styles, after passing through the years in which they are despised, come to be regarded as quaint, and more or less sentimentally attractive, before their merits are fully appreciated. One might even say that in the early works of Upjohn himself this point is just now being reached.

⁹ *Proceedings of the Third Annual Convention of the American Institute of Architects*, 1869, pp. 175-77.

"Gothic cottages" today seem quaint to us and perhaps slightly amusing. They may be regarded more seriously by us later.

Through 1871 Upjohn continued to practice, and to administer conscientiously the affairs of the Institute. As its founder and its first president, it was but natural that he should feel its importance keenly. That he retained control after that was through no will of his own. Even by 1870, his duty to the profession had been accomplished. It was time for younger men to assume the burden of leadership. But his early attempts to resign were rejected by the Institute, which had fallen into the habit of electing him.

After his retirement in 1872 from active practice, his declining health obstructed the performance of his official duties more and more frequently. During these years he rusticated much of the time at Garrison and could but rarely attend the meetings. Nor could he conduct the annual conventions of the Institute; he delegated others to address them. Finally, by 1876, he determined that, for the good of the Institute and in spite of the personal affection of many of its members, he should no longer be a candidate for office. His son-in-law, Charles Babcock, stated this resolve in such terms as to compel the Institute to accept the inevitable. The Institute, officially and as individuals, protested their loyalty and their appreciation of twenty years' effort.

October 1876

Richard Upjohn, Esquire
Dear Sir,

We, the undersigned, forming a Special Committee, appointed for that purpose, at the Tenth Annual Convention of the American Institute of Architects, recently held in Philadelphia, beg to express our sincere regret at your refusal to be a candidate for re-election to the Presidency. And, while we wish, as a body, to tender you our heartfelt thanks for the efficient and able manner in which you have always presided over us, and the kindness and courtesy which you have extended to us personally, we also beg to assure you that the memory of our first President will be a lasting one, not only to the Institute, but in the hearts of its individual members.

We have the honor to remain

Yours very respectfully.

Richard M. Hunt Pres^{dt} N. York Chapter.
Thomas U. Walter, Pres^{dt}. Philad^a. Chapter

P. B. Wight,	Prest. Chicago Chapter.
A. C. Nash,	Pres ^{dt} . Cincinnati Chapter
Edw C Cabot,	Pres ^{dt} Boston Society Architects
E. G. Lind	Prest. Baltimore Chapter.
Thos. Fuller	Pres ^{dt} Albany Chapter
Alp. C. Morse	Pres ^{dt} R. I. Chapter.

How fitting that such a tribute should be made by the Chapters! Symbolic, too, that the last signature should be that of a pupil of his Boston years!¹⁰ Upjohn conceived the Institute and for nineteen years nursed it through its growing pains. Though no individual can claim the whole credit for so great an undertaking as the organization of a profession, Upjohn was undoubtedly the pivot around which the whole revolved. Through his annual speeches, he continually prodded the members to further efforts in attendance or in the contribution of papers. Without him it is highly probable that, in the dark days of the war, the Institute might have died, with no glorious resurrection as soon as business skies began to clear. From a small body of a dozen New York architects, it expanded to a national body of almost as many chapters. He might well be proud of his work, a service to the profession he loved quite as significant as his contributions to American architecture.

¹⁰ *Vide supra*, pp. 56-57.

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THE IMPACT OF THE VICTORIAN

AFTER 1857 Richard Upjohn progressively gave more of his time to the cause of American architects and less to American architecture than he had done before. It was easy to do this, since Richard M. Upjohn had already shown the energy which was to characterize him throughout his career. Moreover, that for which the father had stood was becoming outmoded. Men were no longer satisfied with correctness or even with simple mass and proportions; ostentation and novelty were the order of the day.

It cannot be supposed that the father gave up practice suddenly or completely—from 1850 the son had played some part in several of the buildings mentioned. From now on, however, his role becomes successively more important. In 1858 the name of the firm was changed to Richard Upjohn & Co., and in the Civil War, in 1864, to R. and R. M. Upjohn. During the time immediately preceding the war the office continued to see great activity. Then came the lean years when the efforts and money of the country perforce turned from building to destruction. The years 1861–63 combined produce less new commissions than 1860 alone.

St. Thomas's, Taunton, Massachusetts, 1857–59 (Fig. 92), is still conservative, showing in its simple mass and avoidance of meretricious ornament the hand of Richard Upjohn. The lack of a tower deprives the church of some interest it might otherwise have had. As in several examples during the fifties, St. Thomas's returned to a clearstory, though in fairly limited and modest form. The shafts of the nave arcade, like those at Frederick, Maryland, are plain round columns with moulded capitals, instead of the membered pier that Upjohn preferred in nine cases out of ten. Neither do these piers resemble the more or less French models

which the son frequently adopted; it is quite possible, therefore, that they may witness the father's hand. Nor, as we have seen, can the apse be accepted as conclusive evidence of the son's influence. The one feature of this work which suggests the approach of a later style is the decorative iron cresting along the ridge; though still simple, it foreshadows its later and cruder use.

The story of St. Mark's, San Antonio, Texas (Fig. 93), brings clearly before one's eyes the dark days of the war. The cornerstone of the church was laid in December, 1859. The outbreak of strife halted the rising walls. Half finished, the church mutely witnessed the poverty of conflict and reconstruction. In 1873 the congregation resumed operations and within two years completed them sufficiently to permit services to be held, though debt prevented formal consecration until 1881, three years after the death of the architect. This design shows that for all his convictions in regard to style Richard Upjohn was no pedant. The building is Gothic, but of a type which he seems not to have employed elsewhere and which he related to the local climatic conditions. Instead of the lancets of his northern work, broad windows with decorated tracery and louvers below them ensured maximum ventilation in warm weather.

A glance, during these last years of Richard Upjohn's life, at buildings definitely by his son emphasizes the contrast of architectural personalities. Many details of St. Paul's, Brooklyn, 1859 (Fig. 94), have far more French character than the older man is ever known to have employed. French foliage replaces English, angular capitals supplant the rounded forms, the apse is vaulted with some complexity and a great deal of dryness.

Another instance is St. Peter's, Albany, 1859-60 (Fig. 95), though designed some two years before. A low clearstory still leaves the nave very dark. Tracery is more profuse than before; the capitals are angular again, and the general impression is tiresome. It says much that a very dry Victorian altar and reredos by the same designer in 1885 should not seem out of place and that the tower, which was completed only in 1876, should belong so well to the exterior.

To be sure at least the principal lines of the tower had been

determined along with the rest of the church. Externally the various areas seem marked off from one another by lines, suggestive of the tight pen-and-ink rendering, signed by Richard M. Upjohn (Fig. 96). Such drawings lose the breadth of lithographs, by which designs of the forties and fifties were presented. A certain hardness infected the architecture as well. The designer conceived his building less in terms of mass than of line elevation. There are as many three-dimensional elements, such as porches and buttresses, as before, and these have as great projection. But they seem strangely hard and mechanical, as though visualized on a plane and for that reason lacking the plasticity of the best earlier work.

None of these churches quite exemplifies the standard of the sixties, if indeed such a thing exists. Grace Church, Manchester, New Hampshire, 1860 (Fig. 97), is typical externally, though the interior, save for its slender posts, reverts to the older type. The reversed gambrel roof alters its earlier form by separating slightly the two planes. Puny little dormers cling, like lichens, on the surface. A tower flanking the apse may be found at times in previous work; here the corner site motivated its location. The segmental arches over broad aisle windows, almost unknown before, smack of the Victorian.

Most of all, a spire trickling down over the tower is highly typical, though partially anticipated by the First Baptist Church in Roxbury, Massachusetts. The tower wall above the belfry level, instead of finishing in a neat parapet or gable, expires in three hiccups. Such lack of decision is weak rather than strong; amorphous, not shapely. The obvious inferiority as compared, say, with that of St. Paul's, Buffalo, needs no comment. To be sure this form may be original, or at least novel, and therein foretells the frenzied desire of the Victorian to be different.

A good case can be made that this solution reveals the son and not the father. The very differences from the earlier type indicate this. Its persistence after the Civil War, when Richard M. Upjohn is known to have been the controlling force in the office, justifies this conclusion. One must observe, however, that except for the tower and the windows the influence of Richard Upjohn is still strong, even though the hand may be that of his son.

There is much more of the Victorian about St. Philip's in the Highlands, Garrison, New York, 1861-62 (Fig. 98), in spite of which tradition connects it with Richard Upjohn. He served the parish as vestryman from 1852 to his death, and bore his share of the building expenses by giving the design. Inevitably the building was small, but the old straightforward mass has evaporated. The steep pitched roof comes far down over the walls, so that the apse windows nervously jut into the roof as dormers, destroying the simplicity of the design. In addition, an impertinent little turret over the crossing, the cresting on the ridge, and the richer tracery all betray the approach, even in Richard Upjohn's authentic work, of the Victorian style. To be sure this rather picturesque structure may be deliberately intended to accord with the wild and mountainous nature of the Highlands, but such an explanation itself smacks of Romanticism.

The tower and spire of Trinity Church, New Rochelle, New York, 1863 (Fig. 99), almost duplicate those of Grace Church, Manchester. The polychromed slate roof is one of the most characteristic features of the oncoming Victorian. Stemming from many Germanic examples, that device recurs constantly after the Civil War but rarely, if ever, before that time. The patriotic red, white, and blue stripes and zigzags scream for attention and are in part, though only in part, responsible for the restless effect of many Victorian Gothic buildings. The absurd cresting begins to resemble the finny tribe of the seventies. One striking Victorian feature, however, is still absent and continues to be so almost invariably in the work of the firm, even in that of the son, namely, the influence of Italian Gothic forms and the more distressing color alternation in walls and arches characteristic of Butterfield's designs in England or Potter's in this country.

St. Stephen's, Providence, "is justly held to be one of the most beautiful of American parish Churches, as it certainly is one of the best works of the distinguished architect who reared it."¹ To this flattering judgment one is compelled to take exception. One can only feel that this church, built between 1860 and 1862, is not

¹ George Wolfe Shinn, *King's Handbook of Notable Episcopal Churches in the United States*, pp. 99-103.

more than a good average illustration of Upjohn's later work, when his buildings, though tolerable, do not have quite the distinction of his early maturity.

The foregoing remarks might imply that all Victorian work was bad. This is obviously untrue. The Central Congregational Church, Boston (Fig. 101) by Richard M. Upjohn,² was dedicated in 1867, though the tower was still incomplete. In spite of its Victorian detail, the spire achieves a distinction of outline and a real beauty of proportion which make it to the present day one of the finest Gothic spires in the city. Here is none of that weakness of profile which mars the Manchester type. Judged by itself alone, the tower would be worthy of his father's best work, such as the spire of St. Mary's, Burlington, or of St. Paul's, Buffalo. For once the son has worthily continued the fine tradition established by Richard Upjohn.

Shinn says of St. Mark's, Mauch Chunk, Pennsylvania, 1867-69 (Fig. 100), that Richard Upjohn "studied the scenery of this so-called 'Switzerland of America' in order to adapt the designs to the peculiar surroundings,"³ and in this instance he is probably right. The picturesque yet sturdy mass clings appropriately on a mountainside. Its late date might be deduced from the large turret climbing up one corner of the tower, a device the architect was to use again in St. Thomas's, New York. The normal Victorian elements are noticeably missing from this design.

The last of Richard Upjohn's important churches was St. Thomas's, New York (Figs. 102, 103), the cornerstone of which was laid October 14, 1868; the church was opened October 6, 1870. It was replaced by Goodhue's fine edifice on the same site, Fifth Avenue and Fifty-third Street, after its destruction by fire in 1905. The peculiar treatment of the crossing remotely recalls Ely Cathedral. Instead of having that part consist of a simple intersection of nave and transepts, the corners were filled out to produce a great octagon. One side of this figure was of course occupied by

² The complicated decorative scheme of the interior, designed by Rev. Edward L. Clark, dates from the nineties. See *Central Church, Boston: Description of Architecture, Windows, and Interior Decorations*.

³ Shinn, *op. cit.*, pp. 118-20.

the polygonal apse, and the others opened into nave or transepts. The diagonal faces flanking the apse formed apsidioles containing the organ. The remaining faces had diagonal walls with gables above them.

Obviously such a treatment of the liturgical east end suggests a great central tower or lantern, but that did not appear in the finished building, nor is there any reason for supposing that the architect intended one. Instead, a very inadequate little flèche shot up from the nearly flat deck of the octagon. This complex plan departed from the characteristic simplicity of Upjohn's style, and yet, though open to criticism, it was on the whole welded together into a finely bold and plastic design.

To some degree the façade and transept elevations showed that linear quality hitherto absent, but the design in general grasped the possibilities of light and shade and of three-dimensional architecture. Certainly the finest feature was the corner tower. The two lower stages were severely simple and powerful, the second, with the middle buttress added, serving as transition to the belfry stage. On this in turn rose an octagonal story with a little spire above. Small flying buttresses united this part with the belfry, to form a playful and charming finish to the sturdier parts below.

With prophetic instinct, Dr. Morgan, in his sermon at the opening of the church, said:

As if premonished that it might be the last great work of his advanced and venerable years, he has given to it the ripest and best-considered studies of his life. He has surrendered himself to this structure; his genius, his supervision, his careful direction, both of the massive and the minute, of the solid and the decorative, have been thoroughly concentrated here, and have brought out a result which utters his praises and confirms his eminent reputation a thousand-fold louder than the preacher's voice.⁴

Though certainly not his greatest achievement, St. Thomas's not unworthily culminates an active life devoted to the service of the church in whose faith he lived.

Such a testimonial from the clergy, on the one hand, was amply merited, nor is it less fitting that at the close of his career the contractors added their bit. They gave him on that occasion a

⁴ W. F. Morgan, *Memorials of St. Thomas's Church, New York*, p. 80.

handsome gold watch with the inscription, "Presented to Richard Upjohn, the Architect of St. Thomas' Church, N. Y. by the Contractors. Oct. 10th 1870." It still keeps accurate time. Had so expensive a gift been offered to him from that source at an earlier stage in his life, Upjohn would have hesitated to accept it as being unethical. Under the circumstances, he could but receive it as a token of esteem and admiration, entirely free from interested motives.

Though St. Thomas's was opened in 1870, its interior decoration was not quite complete. The reredos and chancel murals were added, just before the death of the architect, by two of the most distinguished artists of America—the sculpture was by Augustus St. Gaudens and the painting by John La Farge. It is said that this represents the first collaboration of architect, sculptor, and painter in America. The part played by the architect must have been slight, since Richard Upjohn had retired some years before. The mere conjunction of the artists has its historical importance, though their several contributions would not satisfy current taste. The unsculpturesque reredos and the illusionistic murals are at least as antithetical to the ideals of today as the eclectic architecture.

Turning to his smaller churches of these years, mention should be made of Christ Church, Marlborough, New York, 1858 (Fig. 104), which in spite of the unfinished tower has distinct charm. The straightforward massing, the honest and unaffected brickwork, and the avoidance of unnecessary detail make it possible to accept even the polychrome roof without too bad grace. The second church (designed 1860) of St. Paul's, Mayville, New York, proves that for wooden churches the published design was still at times followed quite closely.

Elsewhere it was modified quite radically. Plans were given for St. Luke's, Charlestown, New Hampshire (Fig. 105), in 1863, and the church was enlarged, in 1869, by adding the tower and transepts. An old photograph, signed R. M. Upjohn, confirms the natural assumption that it was he who destroyed the reticent and churchly type of the earlier design by his alterations. The exceptional placing of the tower is doubtless due to the necessity of bringing the entrance near the principal street. Richard Upjohn's

simple chancel fits a modest country church better than an apse, which implies more monumentality. Even the original edifice looks cheap and fussy. Complicated tracery distracts attention from the mass. Had his father introduced transepts at all, he would probably have chosen a triple lancet instead of wooden plate tracery. The windows of the nave terminate in flattened triangular heads, and the west window is hexagonal.

It must be admitted that these last two devices appeared long before in the "English Rural" design, published in 1853 in *A Book of Plans for Churches and Parsonages*. Though the colored lithograph is labeled "Richard Upjohn, Arch't," we have no assurance that his mind conceived it. It might well be that even as early as 1853 this unimportant commission was executed by the son. The singularly shapeless tower of St. Luke's, reminiscent of the stone spire on Trinity Church, New Rochelle, reappears again in 1870 in the Church of the Reconciliation at Webster, Massachusetts. Many other features recurring in that building confirm the authorship of these changes. An even more preposterous scheme is that of the Church of the Holy Comforter, Eltingville, Staten Island (Fig. 106), in 1865.

These and other similar examples demonstrate only too clearly how the old directness, humility, and unassuming churchliness yielded to love of display. That the building should serve its purpose well no longer sufficed; it had also to advertise itself or the architect or both. Such vulgar ostentation weakens the whole period. To say that all the edifices manifested that tendency equally would of course be ridiculous, but as a broad generality it remains only too true.

The Italian mansion during these last years occurs sporadically, though unfortunately not as the only form of domestic design. "Clifton" (Fig. 107), designed for S. Zimmerman, at Niagara Falls, Ontario, in 1860, is a magnificent specimen of the genre. Pure and delicate Florentine arcades lighten the powerful masses. Its stone walls are plastered, ruled to counterfeit ashlar. Large, high studded chambers range themselves around the staircase which is exactly suited to just such a house. "Clifton" certainly gains from its magnificent location above the falls. Though one

may hear the roar of Niagara, it is no longer visible. Surely in 1860 trees were not allowed to obscure the view.

Nowadays one cannot fully enjoy the house, its lawns turned into hayfields and itself rapidly falling into ruin. The present owner must not be too bitterly censured for allowing the fine old mansion to go to seed. "Clifton" would not suit present-day needs at all; antiquated mechanical plant and obsolete arrangements swell the cost of maintenance and service. Even so, one feels melancholy to see its present condition and cannot but wish that it might shelter the local historical society, perhaps, or a small library, if for no other reason than to preserve it as a monument which may well be of great interest to future generations.

"Clifton" culminates the earlier type, but the residence of W.B. Douglas (Fig. 108), in Geneva, New York, 1861-63, better represents the standard of the sixties. Now known as Blackwell House, it provides a dormitory for William Smith College. The plan is no more complex than that of many an "Italian villa," nor is the fenestration more varied. Its mansard roof, its dormers capped by elaborate carpentry; and its polychrome brick patterns worked into the walls create a fretfulness absent from the staid "Italian villa." Red and white brick bands above and below the windows are clearly intended to serve the same unifying purpose as the string courses of Renaissance architecture, but they reach their goal with far more bustle and ostentation. Drawings roughly corresponding to this house are signed by Richard M. Upjohn and labeled in pencil as the contemporary Surgeon N. Pinckney house, in Easton, Maryland. Possibly the identification was incorrect, but since they are only preliminary sketches anyway, one cannot be certain. In any case, the type is common in post-Civil War days, as, for instance, in the 1878 house of Fletcher Williams, in Newark, New York.

It will be apparent in all these examples that Victorianism played an ever larger part in the production of the firm as time passed. Immediately after 1857, Richard Upjohn himself sometimes shaped the output of the company, but one has to look for examples, whereas before one had rather to search for the son's hand. Of the various public buildings, not a single one can be attributed to the father with any degree of assurance. Even in his undoubted work,

some Victorian elements begin to crop out, usually, however, as minor touches in a mass design identifying itself far more closely with types worked out in his maturity, types in which he still trusted during his old age.

The partnership of R. and R. M. Upjohn formally dissolved on March 19, 1872. Richard Upjohn, being over seventy, felt that his work was done and that he might retire from the turmoil of regular practice. He could look back over forty years of a most active life with the knowledge that he had served his ideals well and that he was entitled to spend the few years remaining to him at ease with his family in Garrison, New York. In 1852 he had bought an estate there, including the house (Fig. 109) which, during the Revolution, had served as General Putnam's headquarters. Washington, visiting Putnam, had the misfortune to lose a silver teaspoon from his set. It was found later, in the garden just outside the dining-room windows and is still in the possession of Upjohn's descendants, the other eleven spoons being at Mount Vernon.

The old house had much charm in its rambling way. The rooms, even of the lower floors, were low studded, the dining room having fine eighteenth-century paneling. When the house was purchased, a built-in bed stood in one corner. Great open fireplaces warmed these rooms. Upstairs many bedrooms were a step above or below the level of the hall, and this, coupled with the fact that these chambers were tucked in under a sloping roof, made it adventurous when a young West Pointer who stood well over six feet came to visit. A wide porch to the north, covered by the second story, looked beyond an oval drive lined with splendid larches to the gorge of the Hudson. On the south a small stoop faced a ravine, the further banks of which shut off the house from the public road. In this gulley grows a black walnut which was old when Upjohn purchased the place. Its base measured almost five feet in diameter. In fact, it was so fine a tree that when black walnut was being requisitioned during the Great War, the government inspector agreed not to take it unless it should become absolutely necessary, an eventuality which fortunately did not come to pass. It would be hard to imagine a pleasanter place to sit than the south porch on some peaceful afternoon, looking out to this defile with its stream

gently purling through and listening to a thrush's liquid melody in the glen.

Such an atmosphere provided a perfect setting for an old, dreamy man to play with oils and with his grandchildren to his heart's content. On fine mornings Richard Upjohn loved to take his paints and canvas out to the brink of the plateau overlooking the Hudson, to sketch the striking scenery up the gorge. Sometimes his small granddaughter, Anna Milo Upjohn, accompanied him, listening to his grunts of self-criticism as the canvas took form under his brush. Observing the purple tones which he was using, she asked him why he did that, since the gorge did not look purple to her. He answered, "Don't you wish you could see it that way?" and then repeated the story about Turner to the same effect.

During these years James Upjohn and his family were living with his parents. Now the children were strictly forbidden to touch the tomatoes growing on the vines in the garden. Nevertheless they did so surreptitiously. Milo one day found a particularly luscious looking red fruit. The temptation was too great for the daughter of Eve, but punishment was more rapid than in Eden. Her first bite proved it to be not a tomato but a red pepper, and the poor child ran back to the house, her eyes streaming. Her grandmother, who was a strict disciplinarian, said that it was an obvious punishment for her disobedience, which was true. But Richard Upjohn, arriving in a moment, looked on the scene with understanding. He pounded the cane which he regularly carried at this time and shouted, "Cream, cream, get some cream!" He took the small child on his knee and, when cream had been brought, fed it to her in spoonfuls.

Like many older people, and some not so old, he objected to noise except of his own making and when driven to desperation by the rioting of his grandchildren would chase them furiously around the house with his cane—and then be overcome with remorse. During these years, too, he loved to drive in the afternoons on the charming country roads of the vicinity. Especially there was a spot on the road to Cold Spring, north of Garrison, where a great tree fascinated him. On one such occasion the horse bolted, overturning the wagon. His forehead was cut quite badly, but, entirely oblivious

of himself, his only concern was for the others who were in actuality less hurt than he.

Perhaps his exceptional kindness toward children may have been due to one of the great sorrows of his life. His son Joseph, when still a small boy, had been teasing his mother to be allowed to go out driving with her. When his request was granted, he was on the second story, looking over the rail into the hall below. In his eagerness to hurry down, he inadvertently took the quickest path by tumbling over the banisters. The fall cracked his skull, and although a silver plate was put in, the surgery proved of only temporary value. He lost his memory afterward and in some respects became as a little child, tenderly cared for by his mother. When she fell seriously ill in 1862, he went out for a walk at night, as he frequently did—and never returned. No one ever knew what became of him or whether he were alive or dead, though his mother believed to the end that some day he would come back to her.

Such a loss, worse than the death of a child because of the frightful uncertainty, drew Richard and Elizabeth closer together. She was devoted to flowers. Roses of Sharon he planted all over the place in many an unexpected cranny. He made it one of the joys of his life to strew stars of Bethlehem under her window, that she might see them every morning when she awoke.

He believed firmly in educating taste and did so with his grandchildren. When they were little he made architectural blocks for them and later, after that pleasure had been outgrown, would leave his study door open in the evening. This was an invitation to the children to come in to see his books. He would pull out his great Bible, illustrated by Doré, the Dante with Flaxman's drawings, Pugin's *Gothic Ornaments*, or some book on stained glass with colored plates. Not merely did he love to have his grandchildren pore over these volumes, but he encouraged them to talk about them, to pick out their favorite design and to explain why they had made such a selection. His granddaughter Elizabeth who had been born at Lake George, he called the Lady of the Lake. With her on his knee and little Miss Fidget (Anna Milo Upjohn) beside him, he might show steel engravings of the paintings in the National Gallery or the gorgeous plates in Audubon's *Viviparous*

Quadrupeds of North America. Or again in a volume on the Exposition of 1851 in London, he might choose good and bad examples, expounding the reasons for his opinions.

The corbels in Christ Church, Brooklyn, were carved heads. One of them was modeled from the features of his wife. This so well satisfied him that he had it duplicated. But the brown stone in itself was not enough; he conceived the idea of inducing a patina by burying it, which he did, under the stoop at Garrison.

All went well for some time, till the children, stirred by the discovery of the Washington teaspoon and by some petrified object which the hired man had recently unearthed in the garden, began to dig for buried treasure. Normally this occupation would lead to nothing unusual, but Milo noticed that one of the boards below the porch was loose. She and her brothers squeezed in and set to work with fingers and sticks. Presently the head came to light. Milo thereupon announced to the great edification of her companions, "This is George Washington petrified." Having fully uncovered it, they rushed into the house and announced to grandmother this great archaeological find. She did not know what to make of it, but Richard Upjohn sitting on the north porch did. At first he snorted with rage that his plan should be so thwarted, and then the humor of the situation began to dawn. Perhaps fortunately for the children, the latter side predominated as he shook with laughter at their youthful enthusiasm and fervid imaginations.

Like many a creative individual, he was notably absent-minded. One of the earliest memories of his grandchildren is the solemn procession of Richard Upjohn followed by his wife, who bore a dish of ammonia and alcohol with which to clean the lapels of his coat. His eyes too began to give trouble, though not in the usual manner. The eyelids lost their muscular control, so that they drooped over the ball of the eye. He hit upon the device of hitching them in place with adhesive tape, a practical solution, to be sure, but a curious picture.

He died full of years and honor on August 17, 1878, and was buried in the cemetery of St. Philip's in the Highlands, within whose walls he attended service to the end. His daughter, Elizabeth Babcock, wrote for the other relations a full account of his last days. The illness mercifully was short and nearly painless.

Tuesday the sixth I was in Brooklyn—intending to stay a day or two longer—when I received a letter from my husband, saying that the afternoon before my Father had been taken with bleeding at the nose, and being very weak had been persuaded to go to his bed—when he fell into a heavy sleep—from which he had not yet awakened. . . . Upon reaching the house I went at once to his room—not waiting to remove my hat. He was sitting propped up in bed—talking cheerfully with Dr. Oertel . . . and my Mother, who had joined them—in the midst of which he said with a bright smile, “Well, Doctor, this body is about worn out. Isn’t it about ready to be put aside? It has not been an idle body. It has worked hard for these many years. Is it not about done now?” . . .

Then I learned from my Mother that when he was taken sick the day before, he came from his study where he had been resting to her as she sat in the dining room, and to her distress she found that his dress was somewhat disordered, and with 3 stains of blood upon it. He said he should feel better for the loss of blood, and wished that it had been greater. She begged him to go with her to his room and make a change in his dress or even go to bed, as he seemed very weak. He was very loath to go, at first, but after a little, by what seemed to be a strong effort, he left the room with her and when he reached the foot of the stairs, he said “The Lord’s will be done. I am ready to go”; and I think from that time, though he did not say so, he had no thought of ever taking his place among us again. . . .

Late in the afternoon (of Wednesday) we felt that my Father would be much more comfortable if he could move to the other side of the bed, he was too weak to move himself and we with my husband’s help, made the change for him. It was very painful to him, and he cried out that we hurt him so, but a few minutes after as he lay there apparently in much greater comfort than before, we heard him say, “This body must lie here, waiting patiently to be clothed with immortality.” He seemed not to be conscious of the presence of any one, but was absorbed in the communings of his own heart. . . .

On Sunday morning . . . he wished to be helped to a sitting position in the bed, and I threw open the blinds, that he might see the view. As he looked out upon the hills he seemed lost in enjoyment of its great loveliness. “Look at it” he said to me, “See the aerial perspective. Is it not beautiful?” (And to hear my Father utter that word “beautiful” at any time was a wonderful thing, it was so expressive, so intense in feeling!) I went for the water, and when I returned he was in the same position as when I left him, but with that far-seeing gaze that cannot be described. He seemed to have forgotten the water which he had desired and heeded not my presence—I could not disturb him—but remained standing filled with awe and reverence. After a little space he apparently realized where he was, for with a sigh he said, “I must bide my time, but I am strong for Death.” . . .

By his deafness he was cut off almost entirely from any intercourse with others. It was almost impossible for us to make him hear, and only when he addressed us could we converse with him, for then his attention being roused he would understand readily our replies by gesture, etc. This of course prevented his having the comfort of anyone reading to him, but he appeared to enjoy my Mother's sitting there, and knowing what she was reading. . . .

When I next saw him was after dinner I think, when I went to relieve my Mother. She was sitting by the bedside, my Father holding both her hands and talking very quietly. Her tears were falling fast—and as he saw me, he said to her, "Here is Lizzie. Have you told her? Does she know?"—and then putting out a hand to me—he said, "I have had tidings of Joe, poor Joe. I have heard of him—and he is well—and busy—and efficient." Turning to my Mother he continued, "Such a blessing my love, a blessing we never looked for. Poor fellow—It is so many years since he left us" and he mentioned the anniversary of his going away, which had occurred only a few days before. And then again to my Mother—"What an unlooked for blessing to come to us." I leaned over and asked him if he could tell us where he was, where he had heard of him, but he could not hear, and there was no answer. . . .

The night passed very quietly, and I thought well, but when the Doctor saw him early the next day, he said there was a change and when I asked him if he thought the danger more immediate, he replied "yes." It was just as I was writing my daily letters to the distant members of the family, and as I had promised they should know at once if it were imminent, I asked if I were to tell them of it. "Yes" was the answer. . . . Richard, who lives in Brooklyn, was here in a few hours. . . . My Father seemed pleased to see him and tried to say something to him, but I do not think did. . . . He went to his Father to say Good-bye, and then he was taken to his arms and blessed—he, the first-born, and at the very last—he was entreated to sanctify himself. This was the only farewell my Father made.

His entire estate, which had never been large, was left to his wife for the remainder of her life. After her death, four thousand dollars were to go "for missionary purposes." His sister, Mary Bartlett, was to be cared for during her life. The children, including Joseph, would share alike in his estate, after the death of their mother. Though fifteen years had passed since his disappearance, Joseph's portion was left in trust for ten years after his mother's death, before being divided by his brothers and sisters. In such a manner did Richard Upjohn provide for his lost son, should that individual ever chance to return.

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EPILOGUE

THE GOTHIC REVIVAL plays a role, from both the historical and the aesthetic standpoints, which is rather more important than most of the nineteenth-century revivals. Whatever may be the present or future judgments of the value of eclecticism, its significance can hardly be challenged. In the first place it was both cause and product of a wider and more catholic taste than the preceding centuries had known. The older view that the monuments of the Middle Ages were vast gloomy piles could no longer be maintained. Had Molière lived in the nineteenth century, or were he alive today, he would not speak of

Le fâde gout des monuments gothiques
Ces monstres odieux des siècles ignorants
Que de la barbarie ont vomis les torrents.

The dicta of the present day are not infallible. Indeed, nothing is more certain than that they will change. Future generations may approve our enthusiasms; or they may agree with Le Corbusier that Gothic cathedrals are ingenious but, lacking the geometrical basis, have rather more of drama than of architecture. Not even so advanced a thinker as he has yet denied their emotional effectiveness. They have given intense pleasure to many for generations—surely a gain which must be credited to the Gothic Revival for widening our appreciation of, and interest in, that manifestation of the past.

The style also, in spite of bringing in its train the aberrations stigmatized as the “Romantic Fallacy” by Geoffrey Scott¹ has a further influence. Though at first, and too frequently later, a denial

¹ *The Architecture of Humanism*, pp. 37–93.

of well-building, the Gothic Revival could not but end by focusing the attention of architects on problems of construction in a manner that the Classic and its derivatives were less likely to do. To say that good structure alone is sufficient for architecture would be to fall into another of the fallacies considered by Scott. Nevertheless structure is obviously a fundamental which badly needed restudy at this time.

In planning as well the style has its consequence. Let us admit at once that its irregularity too frequently was ill-advised and unnecessary. However, the enthusiasm which fired the Gothic Revival was bound to work itself back in due course from forms to causes. In the process, it could not but observe that the often charming asymmetry of true medieval work did not result from any preconceived aesthetic desire, but rather from suggestions inherent in the problem itself.

That Louis Sullivan should rebel against the Gothic Revival no less strongly than against the pseudo-Classic was inevitable, but his great principle was an enunciation of that for which the Gothic really stood. One may well doubt whether Sullivan, great architect and thinker that he was, could have produced his work and theories without the renewed study of the medieval, of which the Gothic Revival forms a part. Had he lived in the 1830's, the soil would not have been ready for his seed.

Another less important factor which stems from the Gothic Revival is a new realization of what can be done with texture. By and large the Classic styles were little interested in exploring its possibilities. To speak much of texture in connection with the Gothic Revival itself sounds paradoxical; nevertheless out of this movement come those near-modern architects, like Sir Edwin Lutyens, who have done so much with texture. His early work developed from that of Shaw and Nesfield. They in turn, though they have rebelled against it, are yet affected by the later phases of the Gothic Revival. In somewhat the same way, even though Richardson struck the style (in its nineteenth-century form) its deathblow, without this background he would surely never have experimented as he did with textures.

These comments might be summed up in the platitude that no

movement so widespread as this can fail to affect succeeding generations. And perhaps to the historian the most interesting fact about the Gothic Revival is its existence. Except the Greek Revival, no other movement bulks so large in the nineteenth century as this. Indeed, at least in this country and in England, even the Greek and Roman Revivals may be less influential, since contemporary Gothic and much domestic architecture which can hardly be called Gothic are direct outgrowths of the Gothic Revival. However much of the work of Goodhue and of Mr. Cram may be superior to that of their forerunners, it would be unthinkable without such precedent and experimentation.

The Gothic Revival then, in England and America, was the most important development in architecture during the century. In the United States, Richard Upjohn's position with regard to that movement is unquestionable. To a peculiar degree the mature stage of the Revival is his own work. He it was who brought knowledge and liturgy to bear upon the problem. Previous to him the style had been an amusing and sentimental affectation. After him there could be no doubt of its seriousness. That this essential knowledge of the Gothic is partly the result of his English birth and training is undoubtedly true, but it is equally undeniable that his religious fervor gave the particular cast to that movement, a form which, as we have seen, is intimately connected with the Oxford movement in the English Church.

His contributions to American architecture and American architects cannot be better summed up than in the Memorial delivered by Thomas U. Walter, Upjohn's successor as president of the American Institute of Architects, at the Twelfth Annual Convention of that body on November 13, 1878, an inscribed copy of which was presented to the family.

We are called upon today to express ourselves in reference to our late President, Mr. Richard Upjohn, who has finished his course on earth, and gone to his reward, in a nobler—higher sphere of being. We are sensible that no words of ours are required to enhance his fame. His works speak for him all over the land, and illustrate, by graceful and enduring memorials, the taste and genius that placed him in the foremost rank of our profession.

In the words of the *American Architect and Building News*, "It was

not by brilliant and exceptional genius that the good fortune of Richard Upjohn was achieved, but by fidelity in the development of natural gifts, and by hard work judiciously bestowed." It should also be remarked that to his artistic qualifications were added a stern integrity of character, a sound judgment, a generous sympathy with all who needed counsel and encouragement, and an unremitting and conscientious culture of the religious element that had been early implanted in his heart.

"His life was gentle, and the elements
So mixed in him, that nature might stand up,
And say to all the world, This was a man!"

[Here follows an account of his life and a partial list of his churches.]

These works of Mr. Upjohn, embodying as they do, a true medieval spirit, worked a complete revolution in the processes of thought of those who had hitherto accepted as satisfactory the illiterate traditions that every-where prevailed in reference to Gothic forms and the spirit of Gothic art. It is only those of us who can remember the manner of building called Gothic Architecture fifty years ago, who can form any adequate idea of the change that came over the spirit of our dreams, when the purer and more artistic forms of medieval art began to be developed in the ecclesiastical structures of Richard Upjohn.

"He dreamt not of a perishable home,
Who thus could build."

The Civic works of Mr. Upjohn are numerous, and show the same balance of mind that characterizes his ecclesiastical structures. He did not, however, draw upon the spirit of medieval art for anything but his religious buildings. His course in this particular seems to indicate that he considered the Gothic form of art a thing consecrated to more serious uses. His domestic work was generally confined to the spirit of Italian Renaissance. His dwellings were sober and dignified, with no playful conceits—no eccentricities or far-fetched oddities to amuse for a while, and then subside in aversion. All his works have grace and dignity, and their proportions and harmonies are ever growing upon all who take an interest in art. [Here follows a list of his more important houses.]

In all these works we have evidence of a master mind controlling conditions and circumstances so as to accomplish the most desirable results. Some of his domestic buildings are severely classical in treatment, and though well handled, are not, like his Churches greatly in advance of his time.

In the design of civic buildings Mr. Upjohn followed his natural predilections for correct and solid architecture, rather than for new and imaginative combinations. [The more important are mentioned.]

These remarks need little comment or amplification. They afford a just estimate of his achievements in architecture and a testimonial to the writer's breadth of mind. One may question in the light of our greater knowledge, and perhaps fuller understanding, of the historical styles just how well Upjohn succeeded in capturing the spirit of the periods in which he worked, but in 1878 he must have seemed to do so. The revolution that he worked in church architecture is too apparent to need mention. Although some of his houses must be classed as Gothic, Walter's generality still holds. Especially pertinent are the sentences in which his nonecclesiastical work is summed up. Coming from an architect whose reputation was based on achievement in these fields, they gain added force. Perhaps no one in the country could speak with quite such authority in those matters.

However great his effect on American architecture, it was at least balanced by his long and self-sacrificing devotion to the profession he loved. To further its interests he gave a large share of his time for the last twenty years of his life. More than any other man, he raised its standards and gave it the position which it enjoys today in the popular mind. Before Upjohn's time an architect, as such, might be thought little better than a carpenter. Afterwards, architecture had ceased to be a trade and had become a profession. One cannot end better than by quoting the last part of Walter's address, epitomizing this service.

Mr. Upjohn was opposed throughout his professional life to all architectural competitions which implied volunteer, or unpaid labor, and he embraced every opportunity that offered, to impress upon members of the profession the importance of refusing to submit competitive designs, or to engage in any work for a less compensation than provided for in the regular schedule of the Institute. He assumed his attitude on these questions with deliberation and self-denial. There are but two cases in which he was known to have deviated from his fixed principles in these particulars, by preparing designs with the knowledge that he was not the only architect who had been invited to do so; but these were exceptional.

The tone of his annual addresses, as President of the American Institute of Architects, is every way in accord with his own honorable and successful practice. The counsel he gives in these admirable documents, especially to the younger members of the profession, has had an influence in

raising the social and moral standard of the Institute, and placing it in the advanced position it now occupies in the public estimation.

From its organization in 1857, to the year 1876, when he resigned the office on account of failing health, he was its only President. During all these years he was untiring in his efforts to establish good fellowship throughout the profession, to raise the standard of practice and to promote the progress of our art.

The high standing he attained in his profession was recognized by his election as an honorary member of the Royal Institute of British Architects, and also of the Institute of Portuguese Architects. These honorary distinctions indicate the esteem in which he was held by the profession abroad, and fitly supplement the high appreciation of his worth and genius, manifested throughout the country of his adoption.

For many years Mr. Upjohn has been living at Garrison's-on-the-Hudson, where he had made for himself a picturesque cottage amid the magnificent scenery of the Hudson Highlands, where, as he grew older and more infirm, he settled down into a quiet country life.

The little Highland Church, which he designed, and in which he was accustomed to worship, is a beautiful memorial of his taste and a realization, on a limited scale, of the religious inspiration which always seemed to guide him in his Church architecture.

During the last illness of Mr. Upjohn, which was not of long duration, he manifested a calm and intelligent devotion to the religion he professed, and with an unwavering trust on the "Strong Son of God," as he himself characteristically expressed it, he passed on the 17th of August, 1878, from earth to

"The Eternal City—built
For the perfected spirits of the just."

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

CORPUS OF WORKS BY RICHARD UPJOHN

(INCLUDING THOSE BUILDINGS EXECUTED BY THE FIRM OF UPJOHN
& CO. BEFORE 1870 AND POSSIBLY INFLUENCED BY HIM)

NOTE: The purpose of the following corpus of material is to afford to the interested student the factual material known to the author concerning each of Richard Upjohn's commissions. In some of the more important cases where no doubt of his authorship exists, only the salient points are mentioned. In each case, after the name of the job dates of design or execution are given as precisely as possible on the basis of the available evidence, followed by his alterations and additions, if any. Unless noted as a project, consultation, or alteration, the work is assumed to have been designed by him, and put into execution, though his superintendence is not necessarily assumed.

The major classes of evidence are arranged in order of conclusiveness as to authorship. They are: parish records and vestry minutes; original drawings and contracts; early "Account Books" or the later "Cash Account" book; records of drawings and specifications from the office ledger, here referred to as "Plans," with the inclusive dates of the entries; lists of Richard Upjohn's and Richard M. Upjohn's buildings, written by the latter in the back of the office ledger; and correspondence pertaining to each job, referred to as "Letters," with inclusive dates. If the building seems definitely influenced by Richard M. Upjohn, that opinion is indicated by placing his initials after the body of the evidence. The condition of the building, when known to the author, and very important alterations by other men are noted at the end. Finally, monographs on specific buildings and general works referring to not more than a few Upjohn buildings are listed as references under the items concerned. The appendix falls into three sections, representing very roughly the author's estimate of the importance of the commissions.

CLASS A

(THE MORE IMPORTANT BUILDINGS AND PROJECTS; EXTANT UNLESS
OTHERWISE NOTED)

ALBANY, N. Y. St. Peter's Church. Designed, 1857. Cornerstone, June 29, 1859; consecrated, Oct. 4, 1860. Tower, 1876; reredos, altar, and

ALBANY, N. Y. (*Continued*)

credence, 1885 (R. M. U.). Original drawing (tower) signed R. M. U. Letters, May 26, 1857–July 18, 1862.

References

W. W. Battershall, *A History of St. Peter's Church in the City of Albany* (Albany, 1900).

Rev. Joseph Hooper, *A History of St. Peter's Church in the City of Albany* (Fort Orange Press, 1900).

BALTIMORE, MD. St. Paul's Church (walls of earlier building retained).

Dedicated, Jan. 10, 1856. Original drawing. Plans, March 10, 1852, but work apparently not started until May, 1854. Letters, May 1, 1854–Jan. 23, 1856.

Reference

J. Thomas Scharf, *The Chronicles of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1874).

BANGOR, ME. St. John's Church. Designed, 1836; consecrated, Oct. 17, 1839. Chancel extended, 1864. Original drawing. List of R. U. buildings. Letters, Jan. 11, 1864–April 12, 1864. (Replaced, H. B. U.)

Reference

Harris Walter Reynolds, *The Beginnings of St. John's Church, Bangor, Maine* (Brookline, 1934).

——— Res. Isaac Farrar. 1833–36. Original drawings.

——— Res. Samuel Farrar. 1836. Account Book No. 1.

BELLOWS FALLS, VT. Immanuel Church. 1863–67. Letters, Jan. 11, 1862–May 24, 1864. (R. M. U.)

BINGHAMTON, N. Y. Christ Church. Cornerstone, 1853; occupied, 1855. Spire, 1902. Vestry minutes. Plans, March 17, 1853–Oct. 11, 1853. Letters, Dec. 7, 1852–Aug. 3, 1855.

BOSTON, MASS. Central Congregational Church. Cornerstone, Oct. 17, 1865; dedicated, Oct. 31, 1867. Letters, May 3, 1865–Oct. 22, 1868. (R. M. U.)

Reference

Central Church, Boston: *Description of Architecture, Windows, and Interior Decorations* (author, place, and date of publication unknown).

BRATTLEBORO, VT. Res. John Stoddard. 1853–56. Original drawing (of stable). Plans, Dec. 6, 1853. Letters, Jan. 14, 1854–July 25, 1856.

Reference

Mary R. Cabot, *Annals of Brattleboro, 1681–1895* (2 v., Brattleboro, 1921).

BROOKLINE, MASS. St. Paul's Church. Consecrated, Dec. 23, 1852. Original drawings. Plans, June 5, 1848–Jan. 11, 1854 (chapel). Letters, Dec. 16, 1850–July 3, 1856.

Reference

Charles Knowles Bolton, *Brookline, the History of a Favored Town* (Brookline, 1897).

- Res. Theodore Lyman. 1844–46. Letters, Feb. 15, 1844–Oct. 6, 1845. Dated as of 1848 by the Architects' and Mechanics' Journal, III (Feb. 23, 1861), 209.

Reference

Martha J. Lamb, *The Homes of America* (New York, 1879).

- Res. J. E. Thayer. 1846–50. Plans, Sept. 4, 1846–May 29, 1850. Letters, Sept. 4, 1846–May 15, 1850. Destroyed.
BROOKLYN, N. Y. Greenwood Cemetery, Entrance Lodges. 1861. (R. M. U.)

Reference

American Architect, Aug. 3, 1878.

- Christ Church. Cornerstone, June 26, 1841; consecrated, July 28, 1842. Copy of document in cornerstone. Letter, July 30, 1842.

References

William H. Onken, *History of Christ Church: The One-hundredth Anniversary of Christ Church* [Brooklyn, 1935?].

H. R. Stiles, *History of the City of Brooklyn* (3 v., Brooklyn, 1870).
Year-Book of the Seventy-fifth Anniversary of Christ Church Parish (Brooklyn [1910?]).

- Grace Church. Cornerstone, June 29, 1847; consecrated, June 26, 1849. Original drawing. Plans, June 27, 1848–May 23, 1850. Letters, July 17, 1847–Sept. 22, 1853.

References

Grace Church, Brooklyn Heights: Semi-Centennial, 1847–1897 (Brooklyn, 1897).

H. R. Stiles, *History of the City of Brooklyn* (3 v., Brooklyn, 1870).

- Church of the Pilgrims. Cornerstone, July 2, 1844; dedicated, May 12, 1846. Letters, June 25, 1844–Dec. 9, 1845.

References

Manual of the Church of the Pilgrims, Brooklyn, N. Y. (New York, 1849).

H. R. Stiles, *History of the City of Brooklyn* (3 v., Brooklyn, 1870).

- St. Paul's Church (enlarged). 1859–60. Letter, Sept. 2, 1859. (R. M. U.)

- Res. E. B. Litchfield. 1855. Original drawings. Destroyed.

- Res. H. L. Packer. 1852–54. Original drawings. Plans, April 26, 1852. Letters, May 25, 1852–Jan. 9, 1854. Destroyed.

- Res. Henry E. Pierrepont. 1856–57. Letters, April 28, 1856–Sept. 26, 1857.

- BRUNSWICK, ME. First Parish Church. Dedicated, March 18, 1846. Parish records. (Spire destroyed.)

Reference

George Augustus Wheeler and Henry Warren, *History of Brunswick, Topsham, and Hartswell, Maine* (Boston, 1878).

BRUNSWICK, ME. (*Continued*)

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MANLIUS, N. Y. Church. 1852. Plans, Sept. 6, 1850–Aug. 6, 1852. Letter, March 11, 1850.

MANSFIELD, OHIO. Res. C. T. Sherman (project). 1853. Plans, Oct. 18–20, 1853. Letters, Sept. 2, 1853–Oct. 9, 1856.

MASPETH, FLUSHING, N. Y. St. Saviour's Church. 1847. Vestry minutes. Letters, Aug. 24, 1847–Dec. 20, 1847. Extant.

MEADVILLE, PA. Christ Church (remodeled). 1863. Parish records, (R. M. U.) Extant.

MIDDLETOWN, R. I. Berkeley Memorial Chapel. Local tradition. Extant.

MILLVILLE, MASS. Schoolhouse, bell turret. 1850. Plans, Oct. 25, 1850.

MONTROSE, PA. St. Paul's Church. 1856. Letters, Aug. 15–28, 1856.

MT. HOPE, PA. Res. E. B. Prénice (alteration). 1846. Letter, March 18, 1846.

NEWARK, N. J. St. Paul's Church (consultation). Begun, Dec. 20, 1852; opened, Dec. 29, 1853. Letters, Jan. 27, 1851–July 25, 1853. (John Welch, architect.)

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Henry H. Miller, *History of St. Paul's M. E. Church*, in *Record of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of St. Paul's M. E. Church*, Newark, N. J. (Newark, 1878).

——— Trinity Church (alteration of chancel). 1862. Letter, April 22, 1862.

NEW BRUNSWICK, N. J. Church and Parsonage. 1858. Letter, Oct. 20, 1858. (Authorship doubtful.)

NEWBURGH, N. Y. St. George's Church (alterations). 1851–52. Plans, Nov. 10, 1851. Letters, Nov. 16, 1851–Sept. 20, 1852.

NEW CANAAN, CONN. Christ Church. 1844–45. Letters, May 6, 1844–July 18, 1845. (Authorship doubtful.)

NEW LONDON, CONN. Monument to Bishop Seabury, St. James's Church. 1849. Original drawing. Plans, May 27, 1848. Letter, March 28, 1849. Extant.

NEWPORT, R. I. Res. George Cadwalader. 1851–52. Letters, Nov. 8, 1851–Dec. 6, 1852. (Authorship doubtful.)

——— Res. Henry Chauncy, Jr. (alterations). 1847. Plans, April 29, 1847. Later alterations, 1858. Letters, June 18, 1858–Sept. 4, 1858. Destroyed.

——— Res. H. C. Harper (alteration). 1846. Plans, July 31, 1846–Aug. 11, 1846. Letters, Aug. 11, 1846–Oct. 27, 1846.

NEWTON, MASS. Res. Gardner Colby. 1848. Family tradition. (Authorship doubtful.) Extant.

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NEW YORK, N. Y. Bank of Commerce (completion). 1855. Letter, March 30, 1855. (Authorship doubtful.)

——— General Theological Seminary, Chapel (alteration). 1843. Letters, June 14–24, 1843.

——— St. Paul's Church, organ screen. 1866. Letters, Sept. 7, 1864–Sept. 9, 1866.

——— Church of the Transfiguration, pulpit. 1858–59. Letters, Aug. 25, 1858–March 3, 1859.

——— Trinity Church, Gallatin Monument. 1850. Plans, May 2, 1850.

——— Trinity Church, Monument to soldiers who died in captivity. 1852. Letter, Nov. 15, 1852. Extant.

——— Columbia College (project). 1856. Agreements between architect and college. Letters, May 10, 1856–Oct. 21, 1856.

NORFOLK, VA. Christ Church, Rectory (project). 1853. Plans, Aug. 29, 1853.

——— Christ Church. 1860.

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Crayon, Sept., 1859.

NORTHAMPTON, MASS. J. C. Bates Monument. 1847. Plans, Oct. 20, 1847.

NORWICH, CONN. Res. Kips, piazza. 1849. Plans, April 25, 1849.

OSWEGO, N. Y. Christ Church (alteration). Opened, Jan. 4, 1857; dedicated, 1865. Letter, March 23, 1865.

PHILADELPHIA, PA. St. Clement's Church, decorations. 1864. Letters, Dec. 15, 1863–March 27, 1864.

——— St. Stephen's Church, decorations. 1851–52. Plans, Oct. 8, 1851–Nov. 25, 1851. Letters, May 25, 1851–Feb. 10, 1853.

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J. Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott, History of Philadelphia (3 v., Philadelphia, 1884).

——— St. Stephen's Church, font. 1857. Letters, Sept. 1, 1857–Dec. 29, 1857.

PITTSFIELD, MASS. St. Stephen's Church (remodeled and enlarged). 1851. Letter, Feb. 8, 1851. (Authorship doubtful.)

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PORTLAND, ME. Res. Cutter. 1835. Account Book No. 1.

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PROVIDENCE, R. I. St. John's Church, Chapel. 1855 (?). Letters, Feb. 26, 1855; March 7, 1864–Oct. 6, 1864. Extant.

——— Res. Avery Chapin (project?). 1844. Letters, Dec. 10, 1844–Sept. 11, 1845.

——— Res. Robert H. Ives (alteration). 1856. Letters, June 4, 1856–Dec. 17, 1856.

——— Res. Charles T. James (project). 1851. Original drawings. Plans, July 11, 1850. Letters, April 18, 1851–May 6, 1851.

RHINEBECK, N. Y. Res. William Kelly, "Ellerslie." 1846–47. Plans, Sept. 9, 1846–March 25, 1847.

RICHMOND, VA. Monumental Church (alteration of chancel and furniture). 1847. Plans, July 12, 1847. Letters, July 7–12, 1847.

ROBIN'S NEST, ILL. Jubilee College (project). 1844. Original drawing.

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ROXBURY, MASS. Res. Joseph H. Gardner. 1836. Account Book No. 1.

SALEM, MASS. St. Peter's Church, altar screen. 1846. Plans, July 6, 1846. Letters, May 27, 1845–July 6, 1846.

Reference

William F. Gavet, Historical Sketch of St. Peter's Church, Salem, Massachusetts [1908?].

SARATOGA SPRINGS, N. Y. Bethesda Church (project). 1841. Letters, July 29, 1841–Aug. 5, 1844.

SAVANNAH, GA. Monument, George Jones. 1836, 1838. Account Book No. 1.

SCARBOROUGH, N. Y. St. Mary's Church. Opened, Sept. 21, 1851. Local tradition. Church leaflet (undated). Redecorated, 1913.

SETAUKET, N. Y. Caroline Church. 1850. Plans, July 19, 1848 (pulpit); July 16, 1850. Letter, July 9, 1850. (Authorship doubtful.)

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Edward P. Buffet, A History of Caroline Church, Setauket, L. I. (1923).

SMITHTOWN, N. Y. Church. 1853. Plans, Oct. 7, 1853. Letters, Nov. 28, 1853–April 2, 1854.

SOUTH BOSTON, BOSTON, MASS. House of Reformation. Account Book No. 1.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS. Christ Church, tower (estimate). 1865.

STATEN ISLAND, N. Y. (no further location given). Res. A. C. Bradley. 1852(?). Original drawings.

——— Res. Thomas H. Taylor. 1839–40. Original drawing. Carpenter's contract. Letters, Dec. 7, 1839–Aug. 4, 1840.

TAUNTON, MASS. Catholic Church (consultation). 1852. Letters, Jan. 31, 1852–Feb. 16, 1852.

——— Town Hall (project). 1850. Plans, April 9, 1850. Letters. April 13–25, 1850.

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Samuel Hopkins Emery, History of Taunton (Syracuse, 1893).

UTICA, N. Y. Trinity Church (remodeled and furniture). 1851. Plans, Sept. 23, 1851–Oct. 4, 1851. Letter, Jan. 12, 1850. Destroyed.

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WHITE SULPHUR SPRINGS, VA. Cottage (designed for Parris). 1834. Account Book No. 1.

WORCESTER, MASS. All Saints' Church (project). 1836. Account Book No. 1.

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All Saints' Church, Worcester, Mass. (Boston [1877?]).

YELLOW HOOK, L. I., N. Y. Res. Dr. Muhlenberg (additions). 1850. Letter, Oct. 8, 1850.

YELLOW SPRINGS, OHIO. Church. 1854. Letter, Oct. 9, 1854. (Authorship doubtful.)

ILLUSTRATIONS

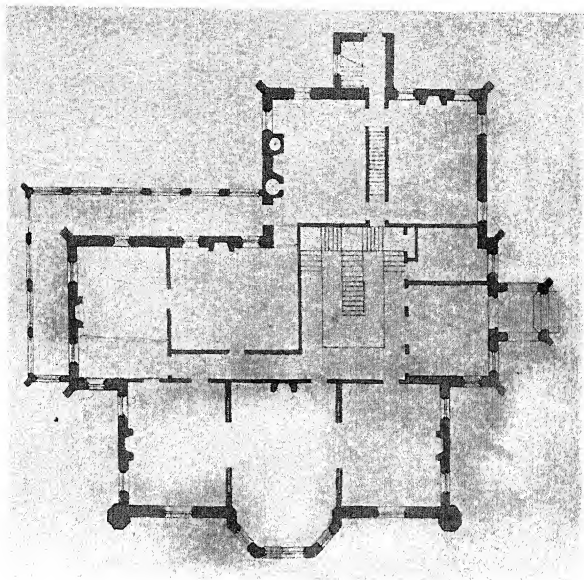


FIG. 5. "OAKLANDS," R. H. GARDINER HOUSE, GARDINER, ME.
1835-36. ORIGINAL DRAWING, PLAN.

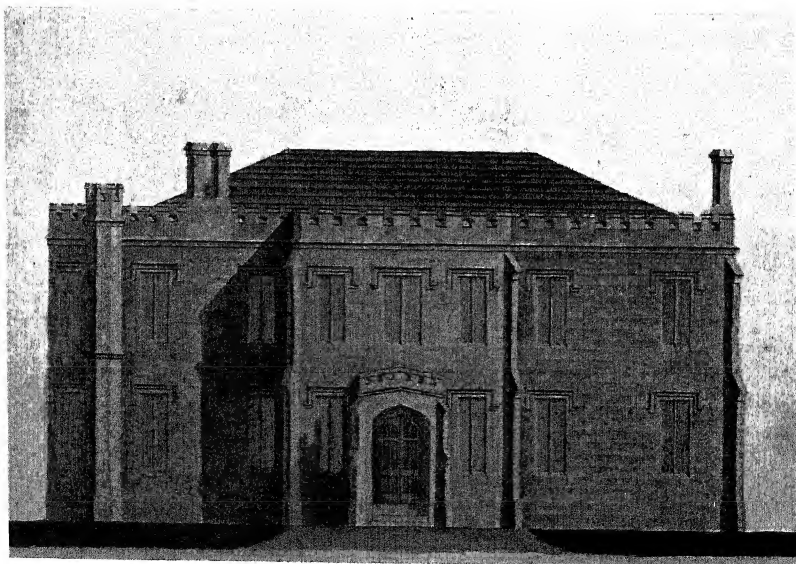


FIG. 6. "OAKLANDS," R. H. GARDINER HOUSE, GARDINER, ME.
1835-36. ORIGINAL DRAWING, NORTH ELEVATION.



FIG. 7. "OAKLANDS," R. H. GARDINER HOUSE, GARDINER, ME. 1835-36.
Courtesy of R. H. Gardiner, Esq.

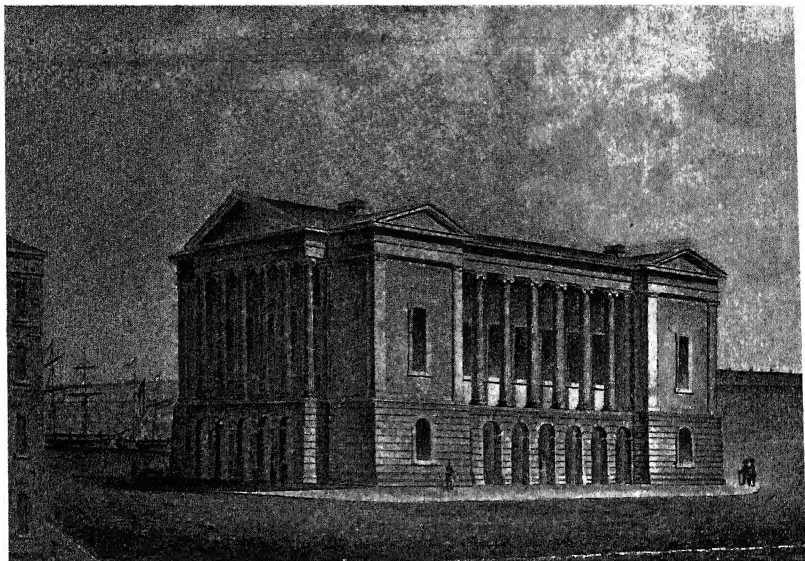


FIG. 8. CITY HALL PROJECT, BOSTON (?). 1838. ORIGINAL DRAWING.



FIG. 9. ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, BANGOR, ME. 1836-39. INTERIOR.

From an old photograph; courtesy of H. W. Reynolds, Esq.

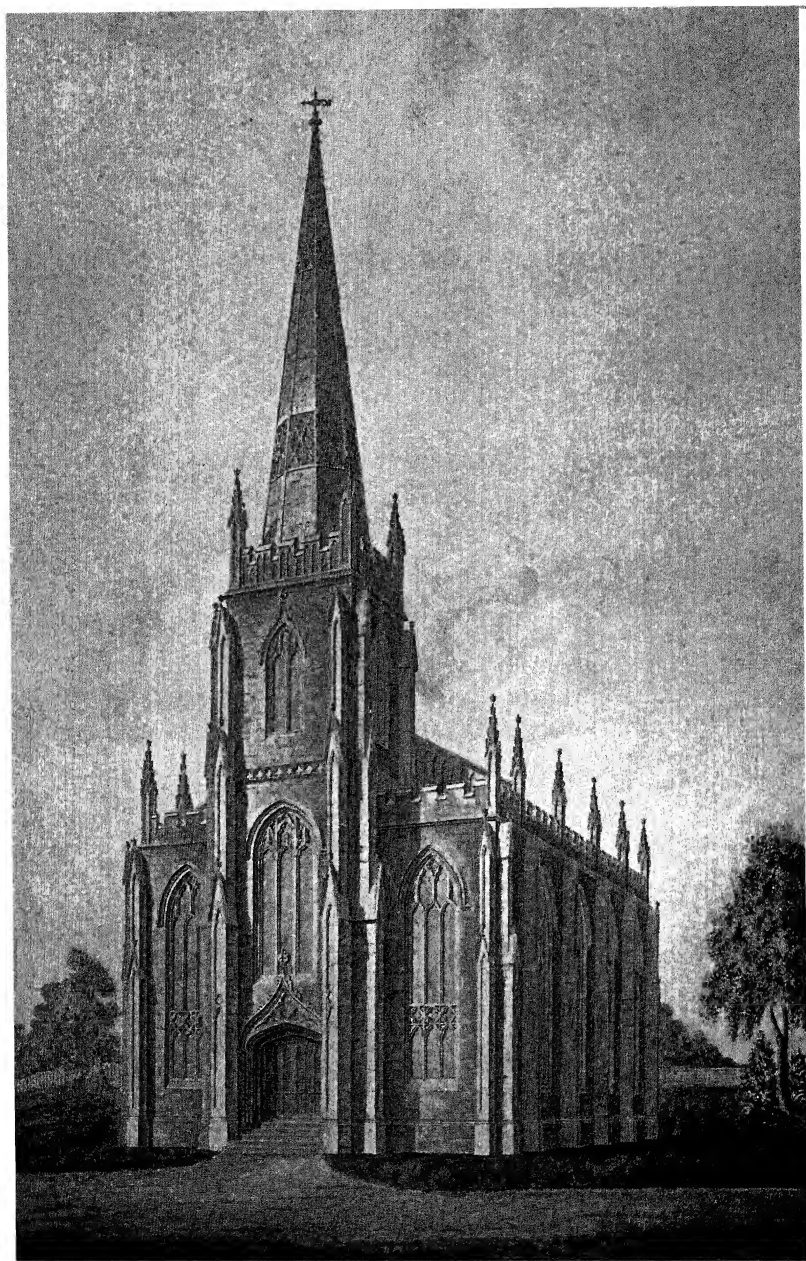


FIG. 10. ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, BANGOR, ME. 1836-39. ORIGINAL
DRAWING..

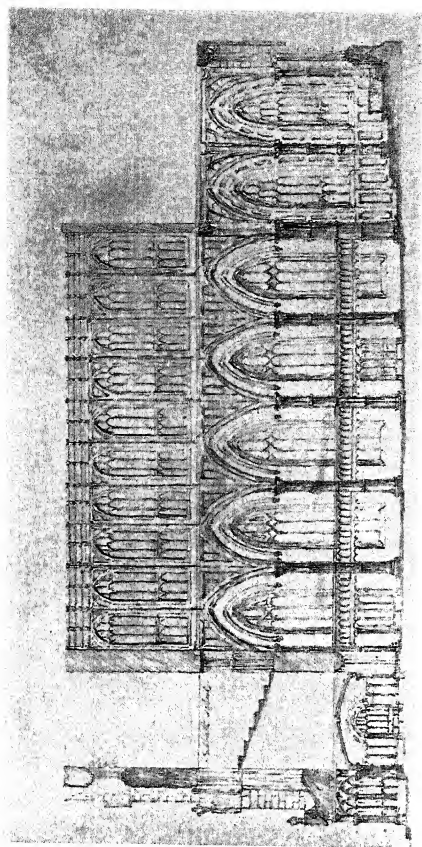
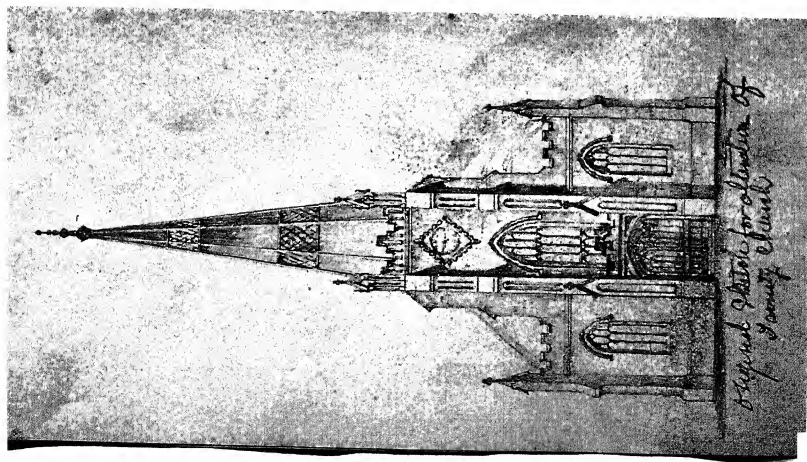


FIG. 12. TRINITY CHURCH, NEW YORK. 1839-46. ORIGINAL DRAWING,
LONGITUDINAL SECTION, 1839.

FIG. 11. TRINITY CHURCH, NEW YORK. 1839-46. ORIGINAL DRAWING, 1839.

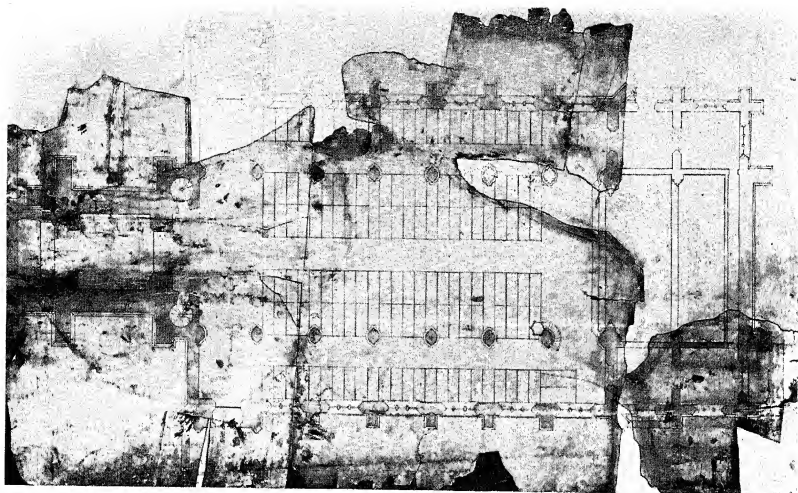


FIG. 13. TRINITY CHURCH, NEW YORK. 1839-46. ORIGINAL
DRAWING, PLAN, 1845.

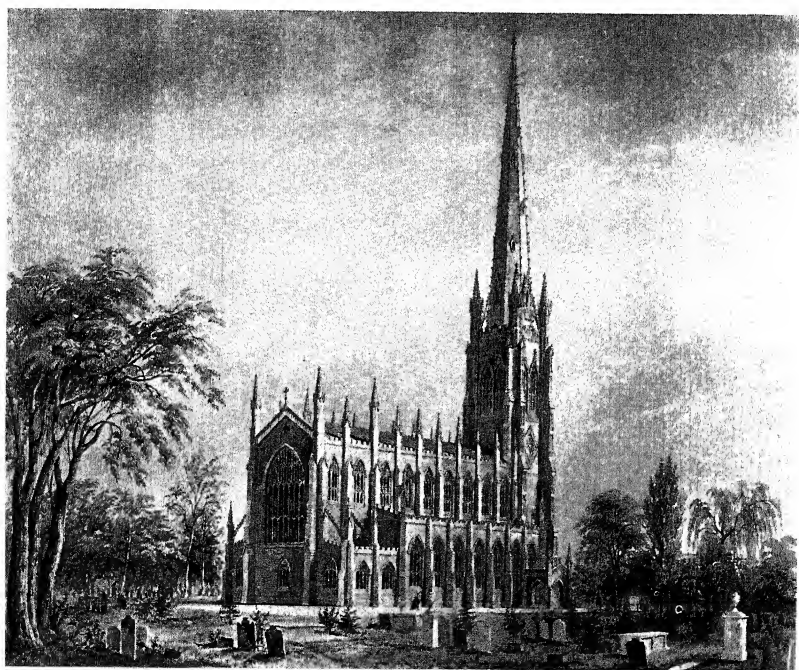
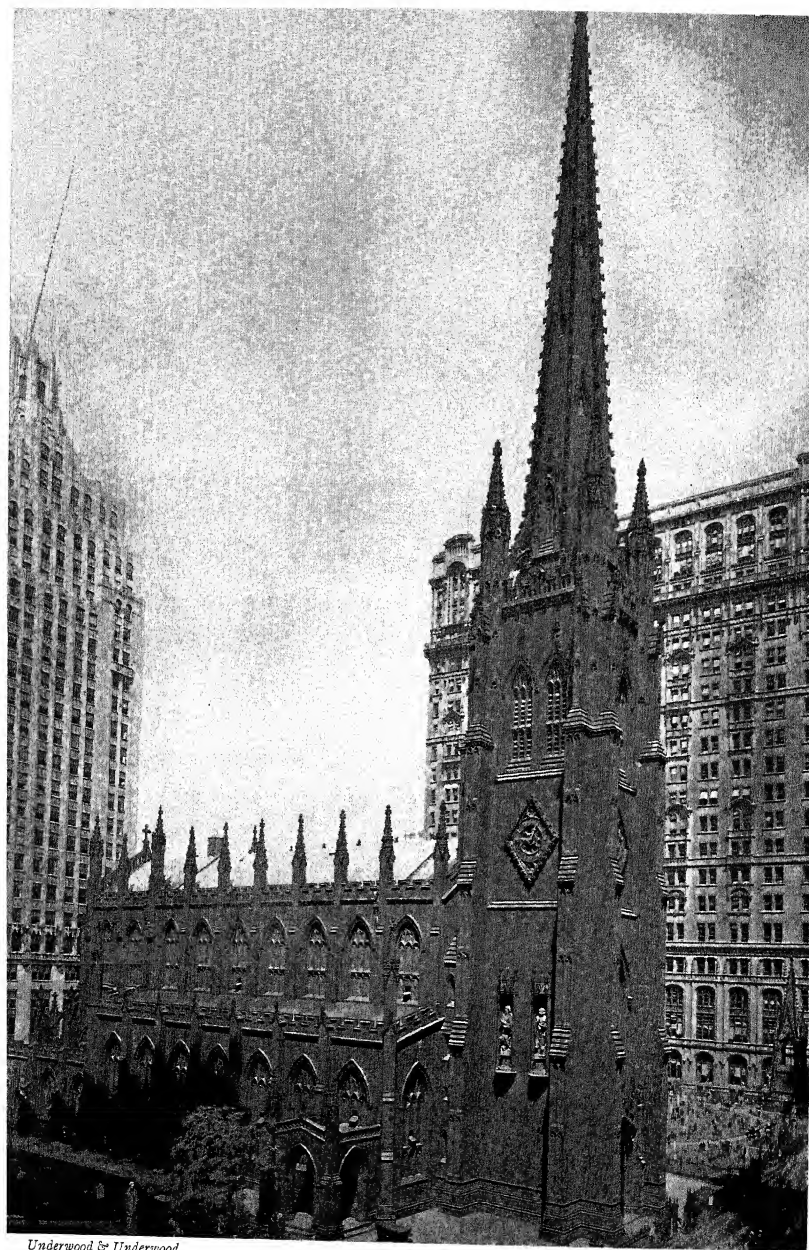


FIG. 14. TRINITY CHURCH, NEW YORK. 1839-46. ORIGINAL
DRAWING, 1846.



Underwood & Underwood

FIG. 15. TRINITY CHURCH, NEW YORK. 1839-46.
At extreme right, monument to soldiers who died in captivity. 1852.



Wurts Bros.

FIG. 16. TRINITY CHURCH, NEW YORK. 1839-46. INTERIOR.

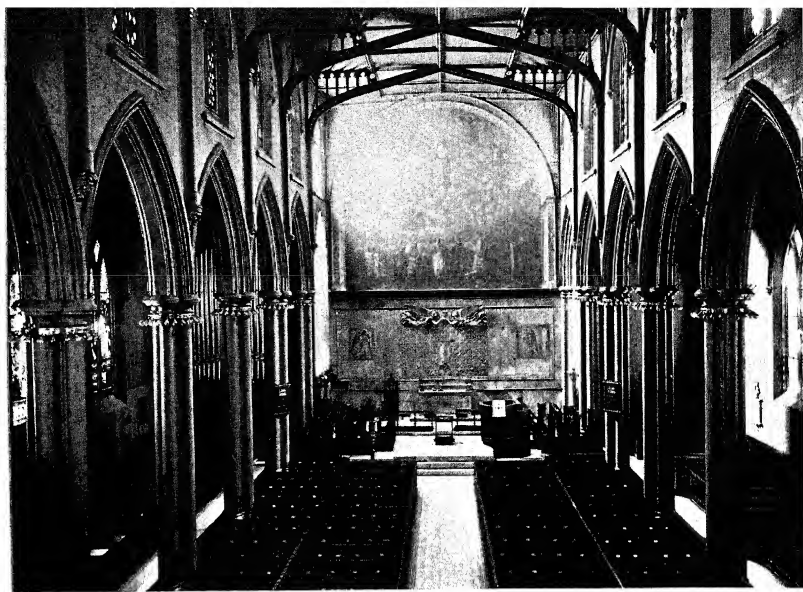


FIG. 17. CHURCH OF THE ASCENSION, NEW YORK. 1840-41. INTERIOR.



FIG. 18. CHURCH OF THE ASCENSION, NEW YORK. 1840-41.



FIG. 19. CHRIST CHURCH, BROOKLYN. 1841-42. INTERIOR.

FIG. 20. CHRIST CHURCH, BROOKLYN. 1841-42.





FIG. 21. DR. POTTS'S PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, NEW YORK. 1844. INTERIOR.
From an old photograph.

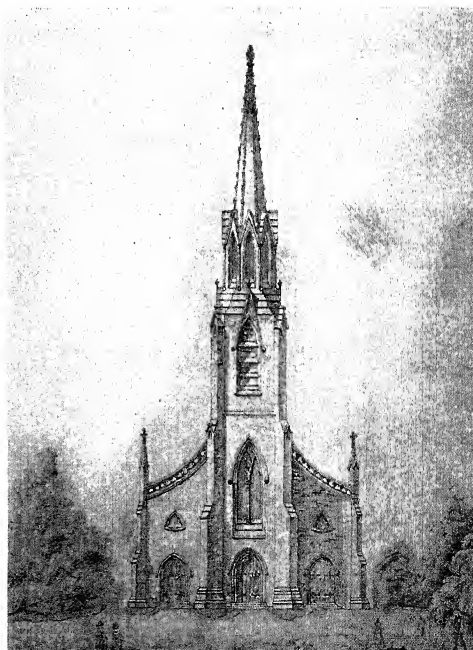


FIG. 22. DR. POTTS'S PRESBY-
TERIAN CHURCH, NEW YORK.
1844. ORIGINAL DRAWING.



FIG. 23. FIRST PARISH CHURCH,
BRUNSWICK, ME. 1845-46. BEFORE
DESTRUCTION OF THE SPIRE.



FIG. 24. FIRST PARISH CHURCH, BRUNSWICK, ME. 1845-46. INTERIOR.



FIG. 25. GRACE CHURCH, PROVIDENCE. 1845-46. ORIGINAL DRAWING.

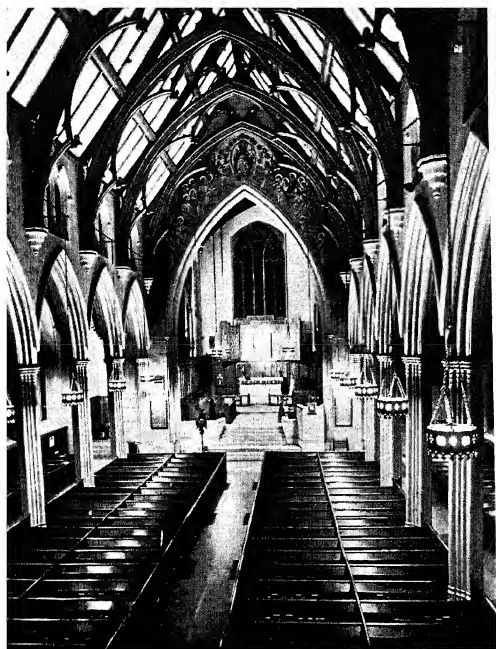


FIG. 26. GRACE CHURCH, PROV-
IDENCE. 1845-46. INTERIOR.

Wm. Mills & Son

FIG. 27. GRACE CHURCH, BROOKLYN. 1847-48.





FIG. 28. GRACECHURCH, BROOK-
LYN. 1847-48. INTERIOR.

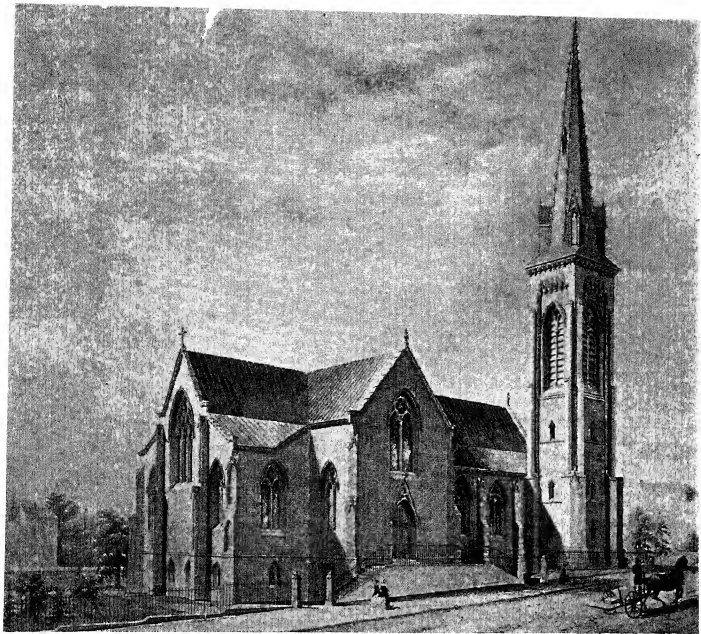


FIG. 29. ST. JAMES'S CHURCH, NEW LONDON, CONN. 1847-50.
ORIGINAL DRAWING.

FIG. 30. ST. JAMES'S CHURCH, NEW LONDON, CONN. 1847-50.
INTERIOR.



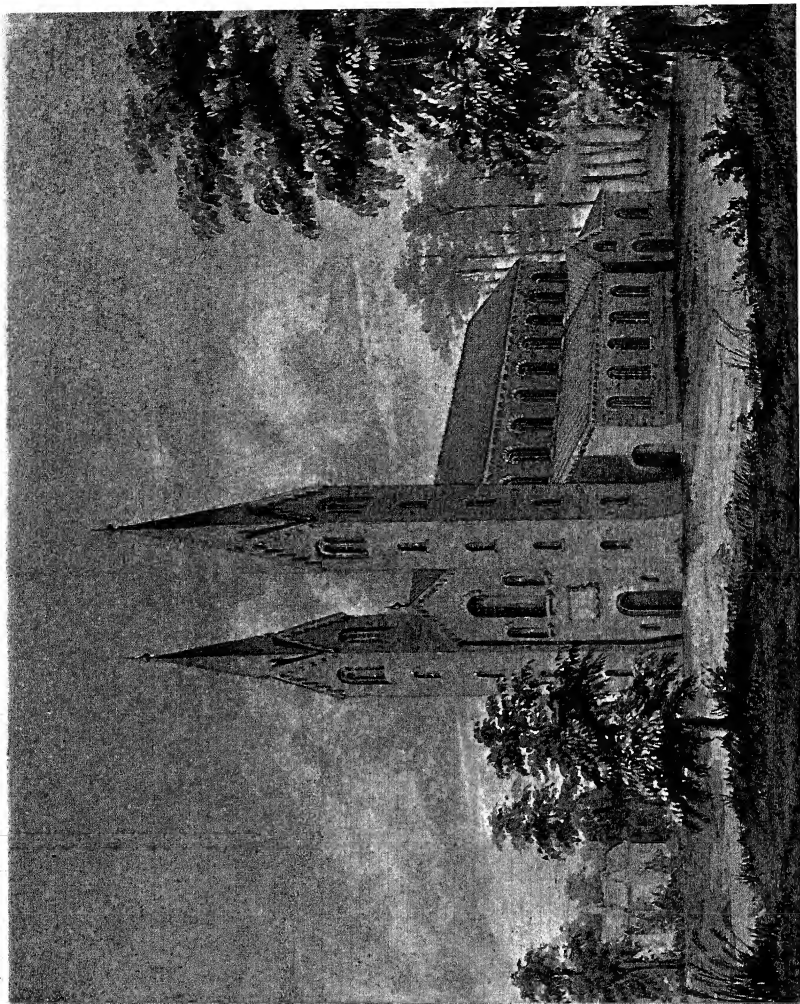


FIG. 31. BOWDOIN COLLEGE
CHAPEL, BRUNSWICK, ME.
1845-55. ORIGINAL DRAWING.

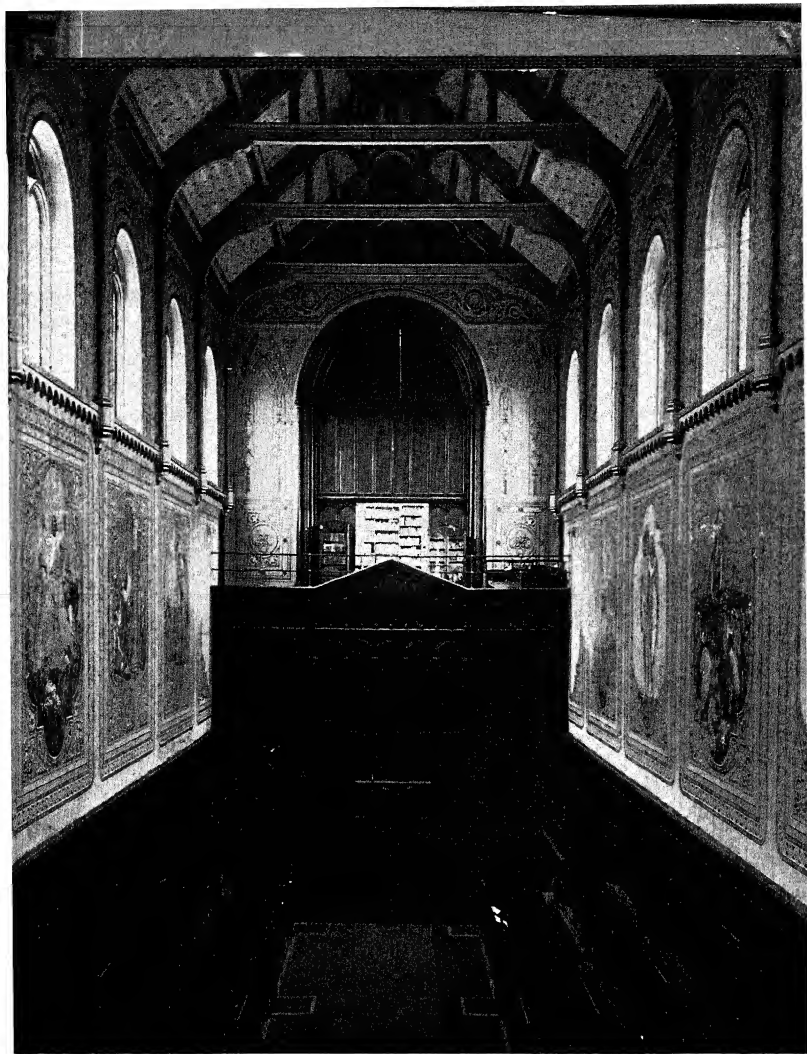


FIG. 32. BOWDOIN COLLEGE CHAPEL, BRUNSWICK, ME. 1845-55.
INTERIOR.



FIG. 33. HARVARD COLLEGE CHAPEL PROJECT, CAMBRIDGE, MASS.
1846. ORIGINAL DRAWING.

FIG. 34. HARVARD COLLEGE CHAPEL PROJECT, CAMBRIDGE, MASS.
1846. ORIGINAL DRAWING, INTERIOR.



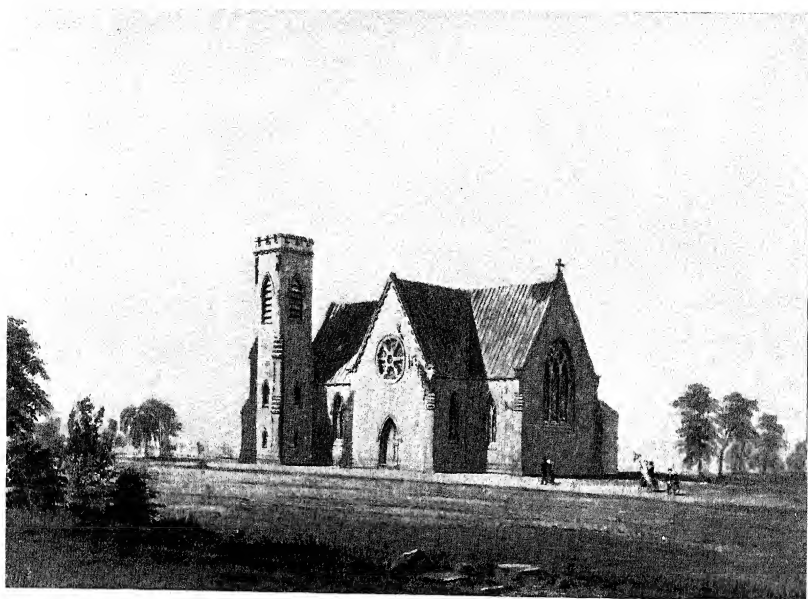
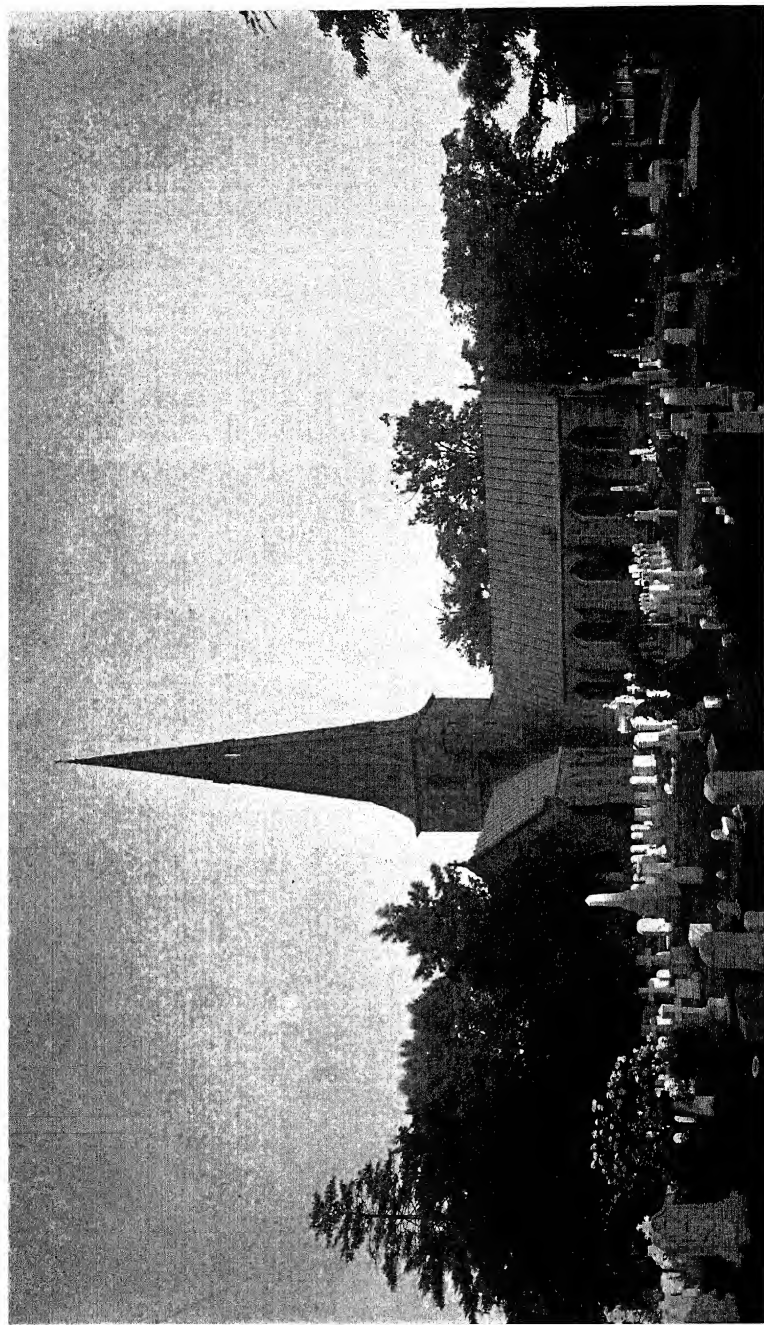


FIG. 35. CHURCH OF THE HOLY COMMUNION, NEW YORK. 1844-45.
ORIGINAL DRAWING.



FIG. 36. CHRIST CHURCH, RA-
LEIGH, N. C. 1848-54.



The Burlington Camera

FIG. 37. ST. MARY'S CHURCH, BURLINGTON, N. J. 1846-54.



FIG. 38. ST. MARY'S CHURCH, BURLINGTON, N. J.
1846-54. INTERIOR.

The Burlington Camera

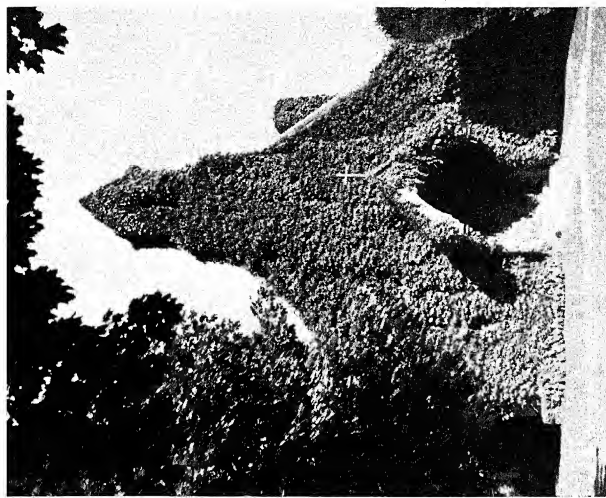


FIG. 39. CALVARY CHURCH, STONINGTON, CONN.
1847-49.

Burdick

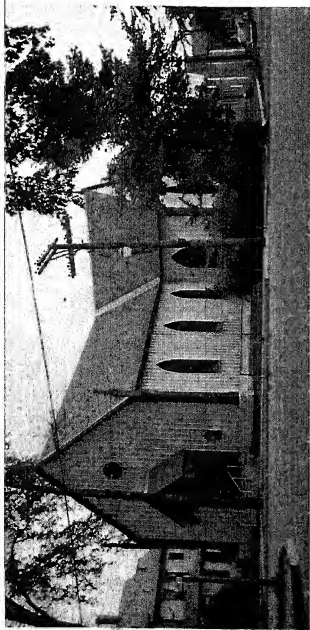
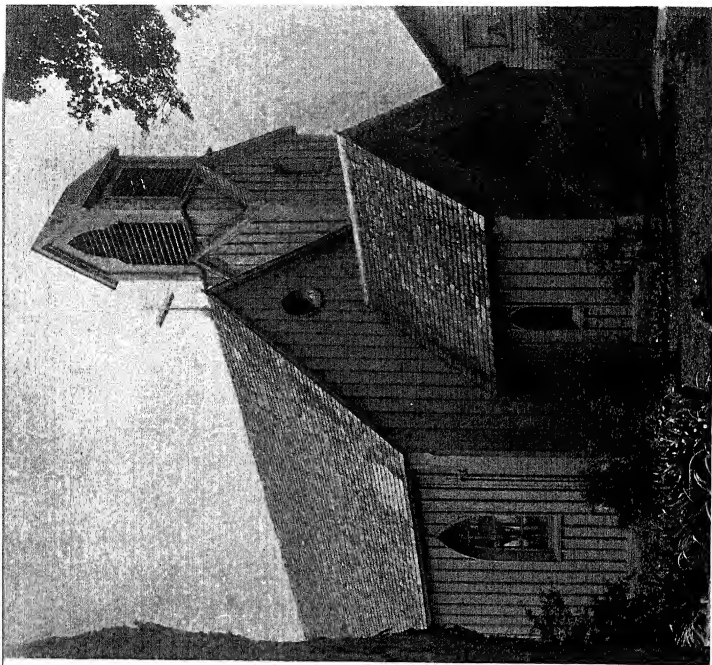


FIG. 40. ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, BRUNSWICK, ME. 1845.



Stone's Studio

FIG. 41. ST. THOMAS'S CHURCH, HAMILTON, N. Y. 1847.
INTERIOR.



Stone's Studio

FIG. 42. ST. THOMAS'S CHURCH, HAMILTON, N. Y. 1847.

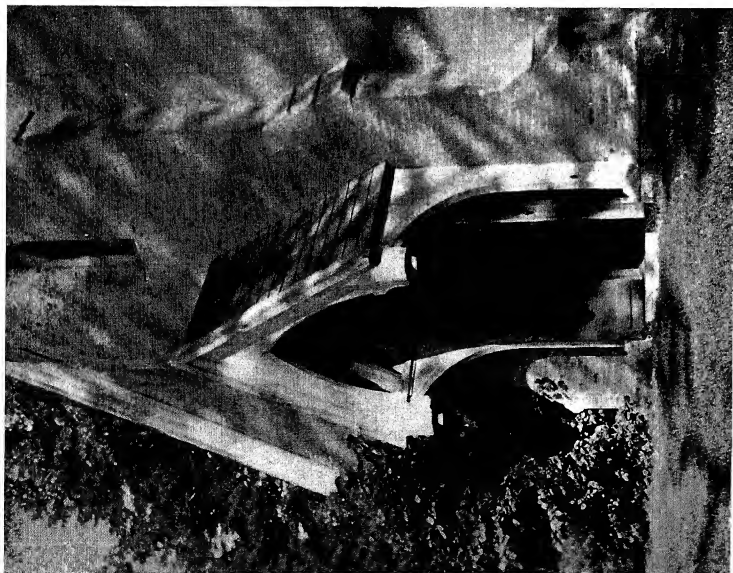


FIG. 43. ST. THOMAS'S CHURCH, AMENIA UNION, N. Y.
1849-51.



FIG. 44. ST. THOMAS'S CHURCH, AMENIA UNION, N. Y. 1849-51.

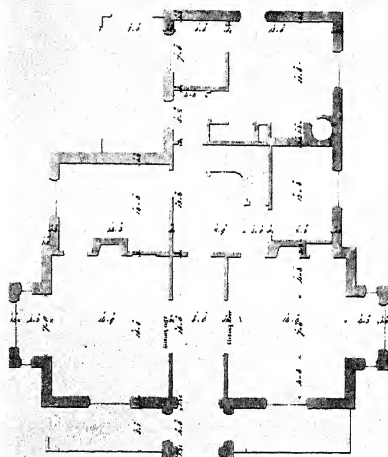


FIG. 45. THOMAS
TAYLOR HOUSE,
STATEN ISLAND, N. Y.
1839-40. ORIGINAL
DRAWING, PLAN.

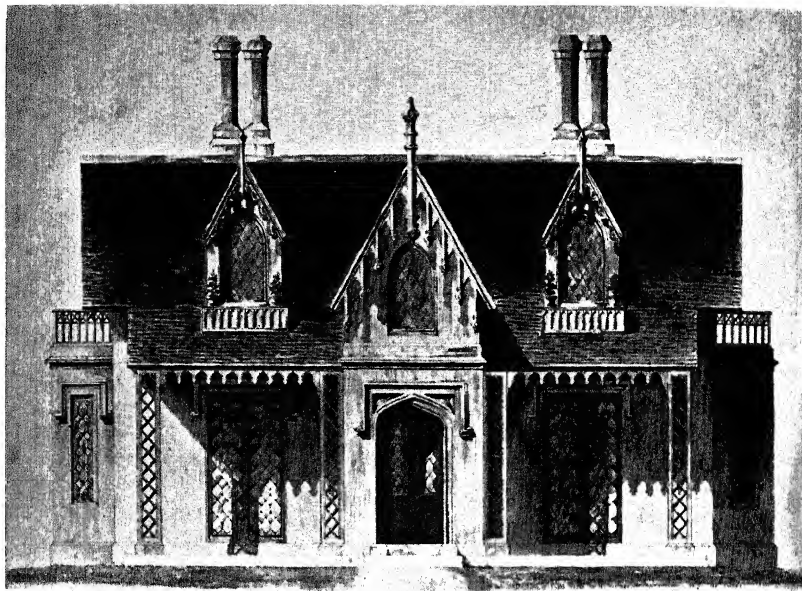


FIG. 46. THOMAS TAYLOR HOUSE, STATEN ISLAND, N. Y. 1839-40.
ORIGINAL DRAWING.

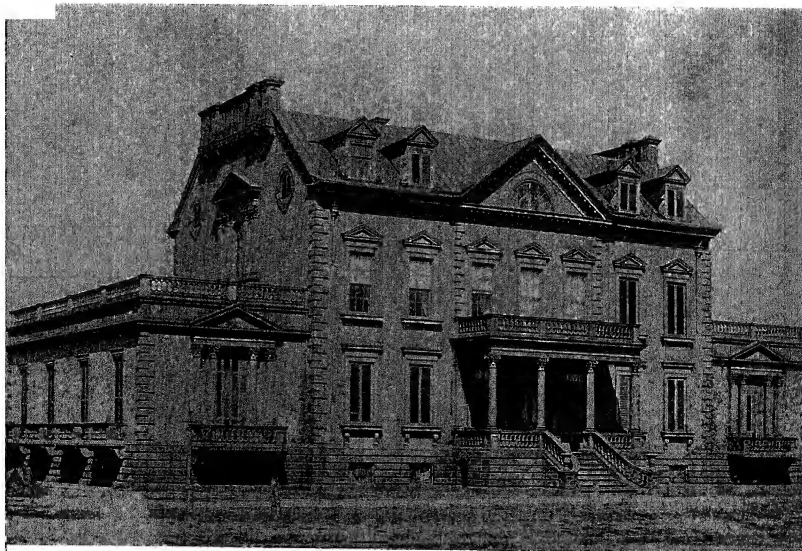


FIG. 47. STEPHEN VAN RENSSELAER HOUSE, ALBANY. 1840-44.
NOW SIGMA PHI FRATERNITY, WILLIAMSTOWN, MASS.

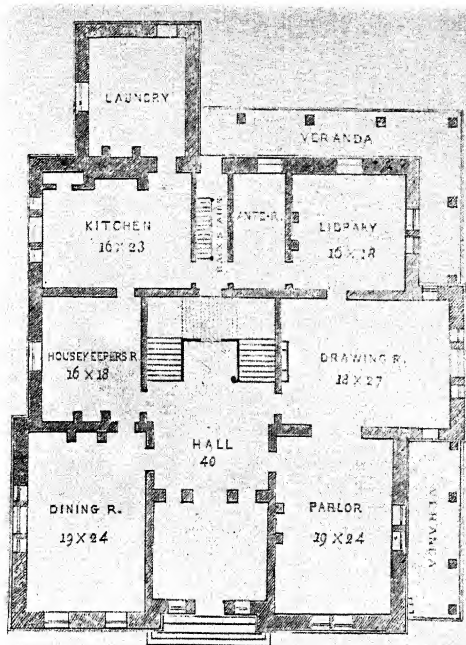


FIG. 48. EDWARD KING
HOUSE, NEWPORT, R. I.
1845-47. PLAN.

From Downing, *Country Houses*.

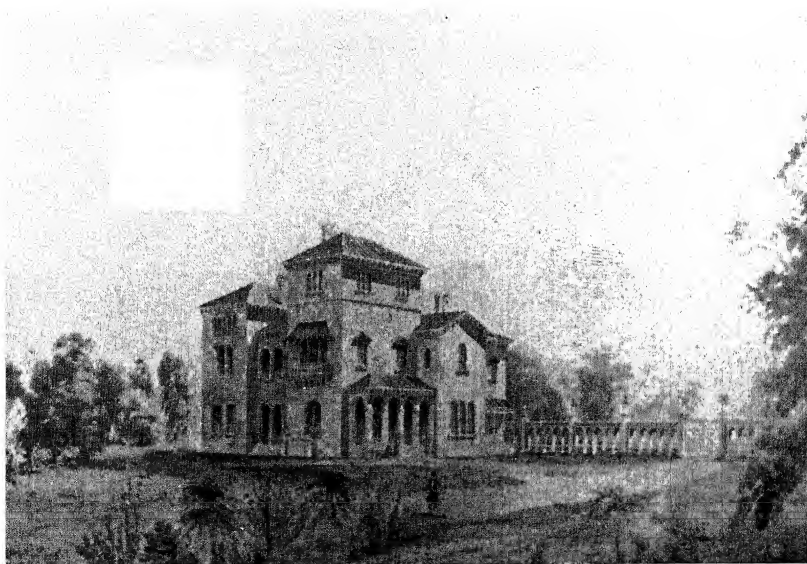


FIG. 49. EDWARD KING HOUSE, NEWPORT, R. I. 1845-47. ORIGINAL DRAWING.
Courtesy of Mrs. Louise B. McCagg.



FIG. 50. "LINDENWALD," MARTIN VAN BUREN HOUSE, KINDERHOOK, N. Y. 1849-52. ORIGINAL DRAWING.

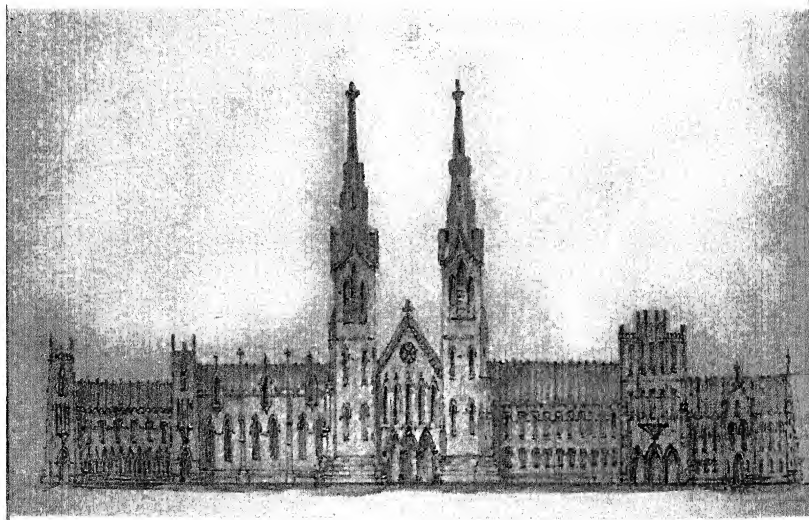


FIG. 51. JUBILEE COLLEGE PROJECT, ROBIN'S NEST, ILL. 1844.
ORIGINAL DRAWING

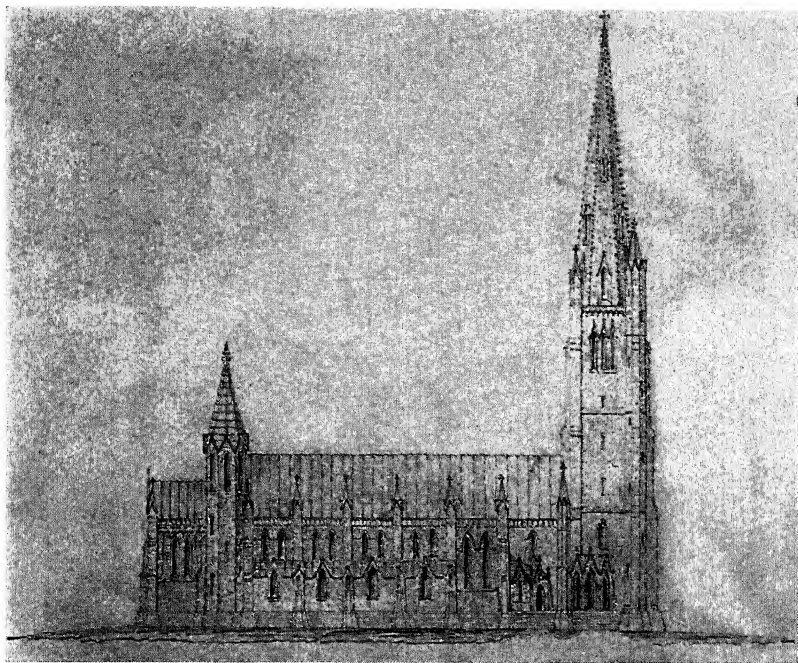


FIG. 52. ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, BUFFALO. 1850-51. ORIGINAL DRAWING, NORTH ELEVATION, 1848.

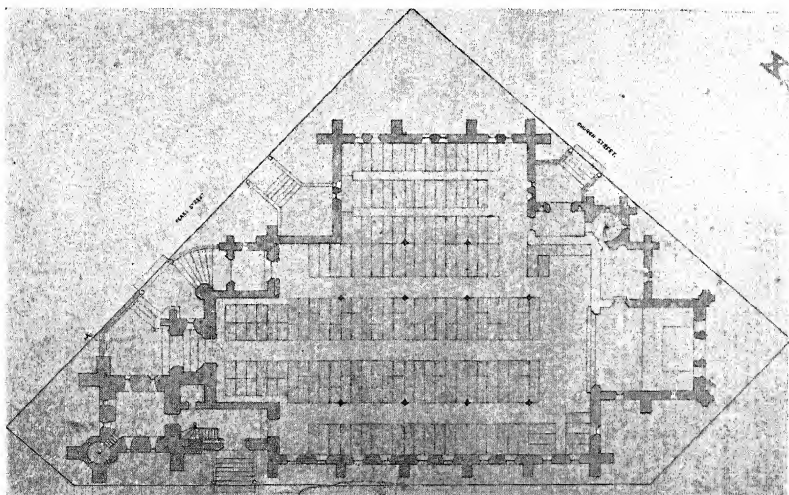


FIG. 53. ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, BUFFALO. 1850-51. ORIGINAL DRAWING, PLAN, 1851.

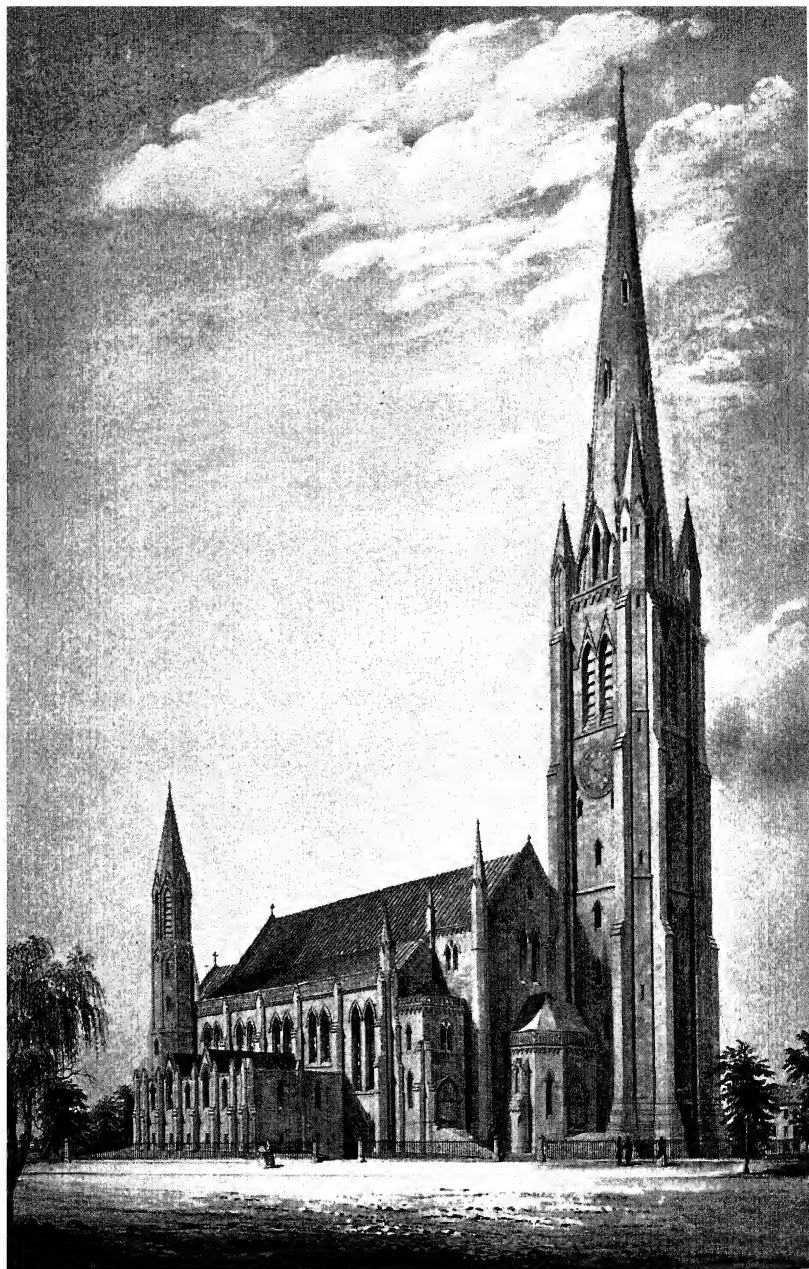


FIG. 54. ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, BUFFALO. 1850-51. ORIGINAL DRAWING.



FIG. 55. ST. PAUL'S CHURCH,
BUFFALO. 1850-51. INTER-
IOR, BEFORE FIRE OF 1888.
Courtesy of E. E. Bartlett, Esq.

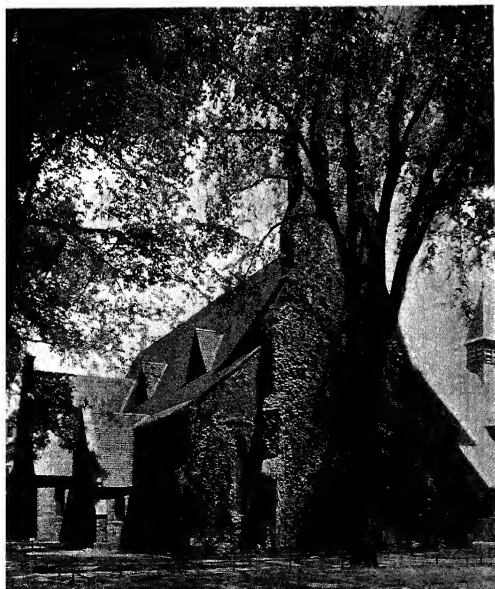


FIG. 56. ZION CHURCH,
ROME, N. Y. 1850-51.

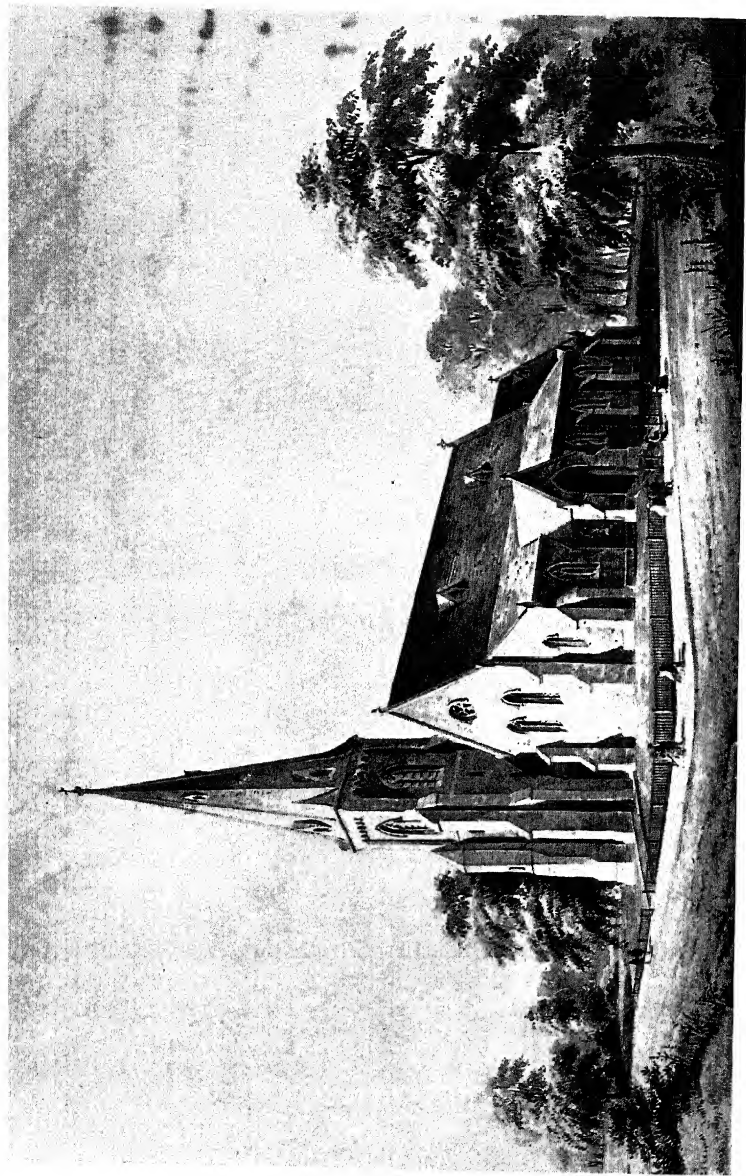


FIG. 57. ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, BROOKLINE, MASS. 1848-52. ORIGINAL DRAWING.

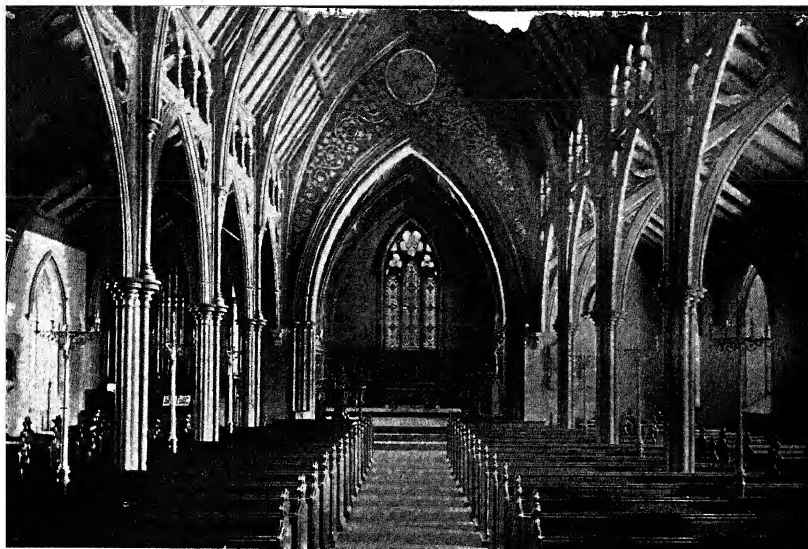


FIG. 58. ST. PAUL'S
CHURCH, BROOKLINE,
MASS. 1848-52. INTE-
RIOR.

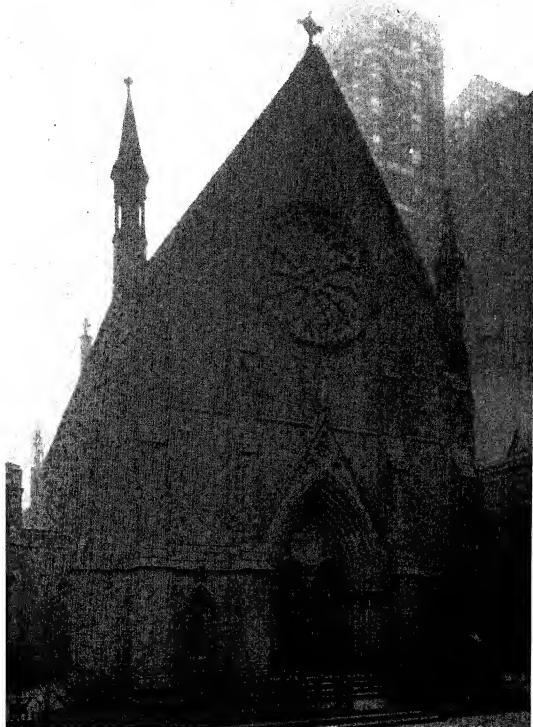


FIG. 59. TR
CHAPEL. NEW YORK.
1850-55.



FIG. 60. TRINITY CHAPEL, NEW YORK. 1850-55. INTERIOR.

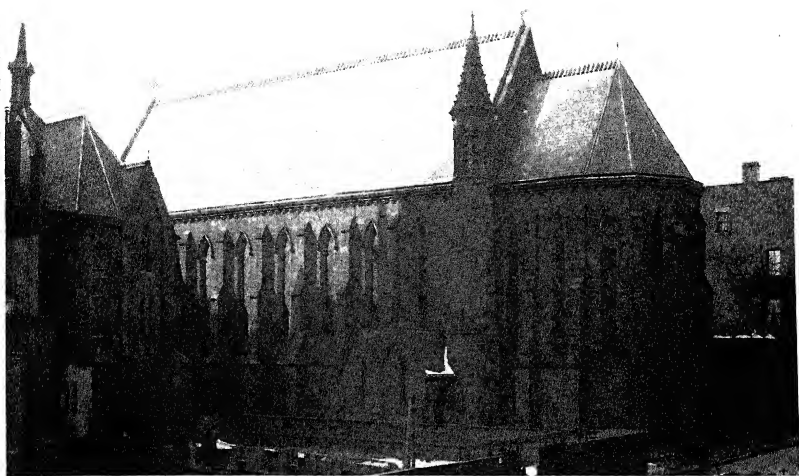


FIG. 61. TRINITY CHAPEL, NEW YORK. 1850-55.

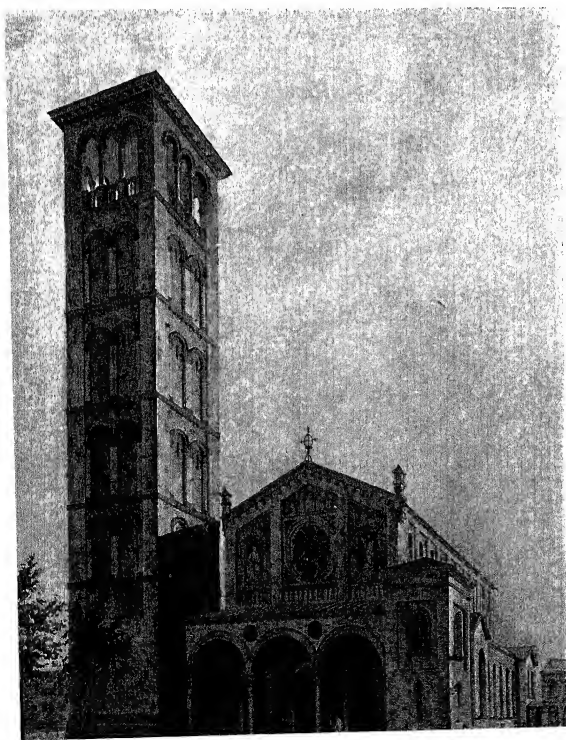


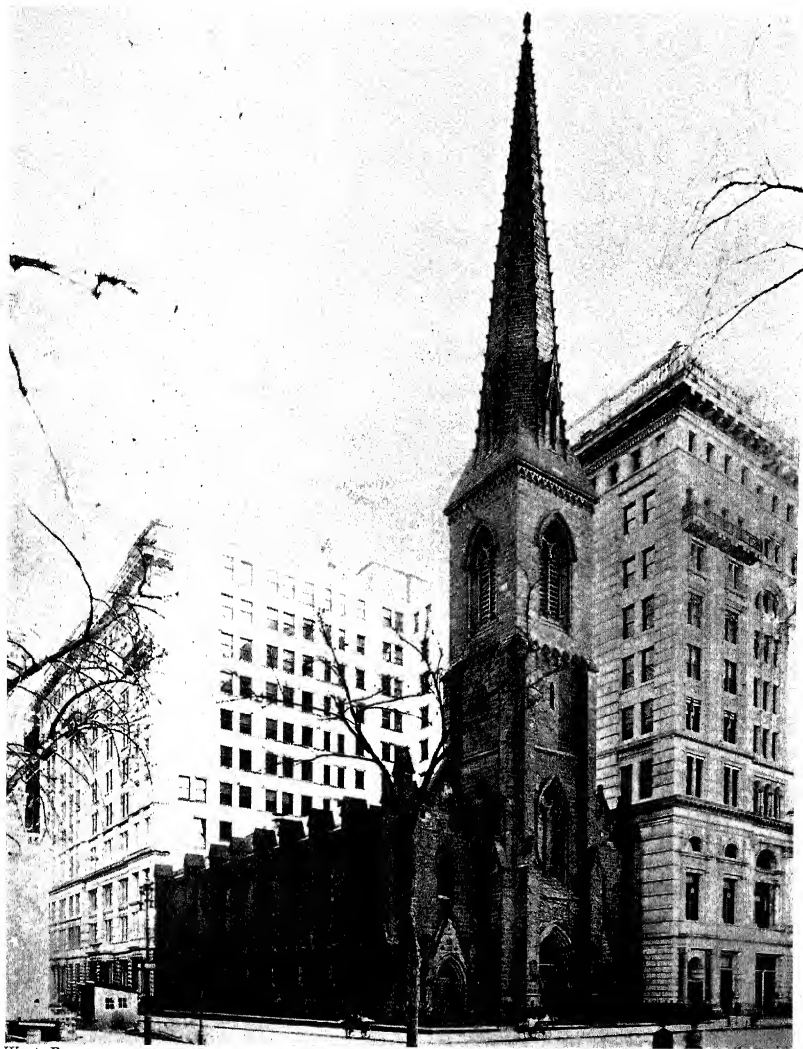
FIG. 62. ST. PAUL'S
CHURCH, BALTIMORE.
1852-56. ORIGINAL
DRAWING.

FIG. 63. CHRIST CHURCH, BING-
HAMTON, N. Y. 1853-55.



FIG. 64. ALL SAINTS' CHURCH,
FREDERICK, MD. 1855. INTE-
RIOR.

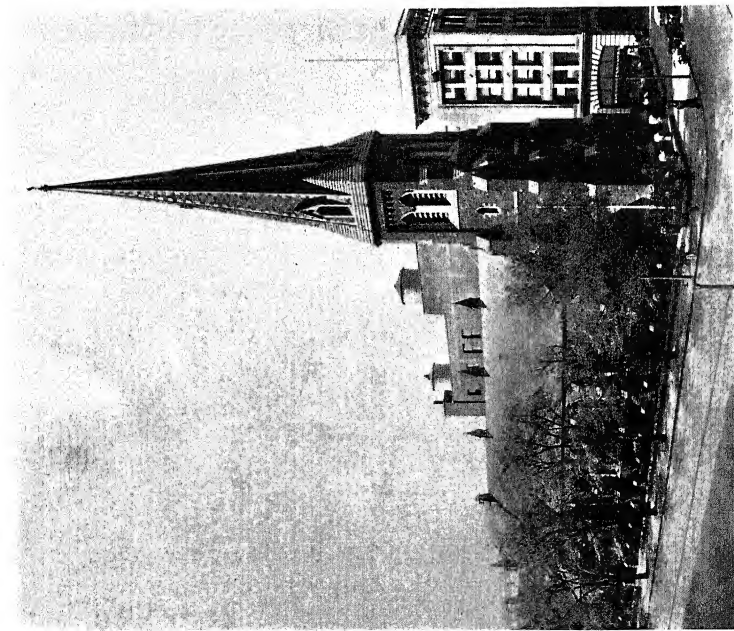




Wurts Bros.

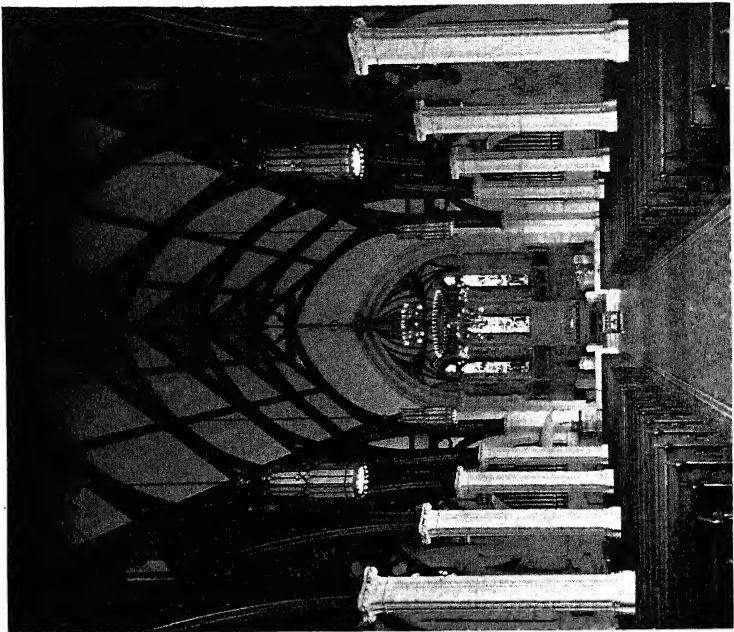
FIG. 65. MADISON SQUARE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, NEW YORK.
1853-54.

From an old photograph,



C. K. Frey

FIG. 66. GRACE CHURCH, UTICA, N. Y. 1856-60.
BEFORE REMODELING OF SPIRE.



Russell T. Rhoades & Company

FIG. 67. GRACE CHURCH, UTICA, N. Y. 1856-60. IN-
TERIOR.

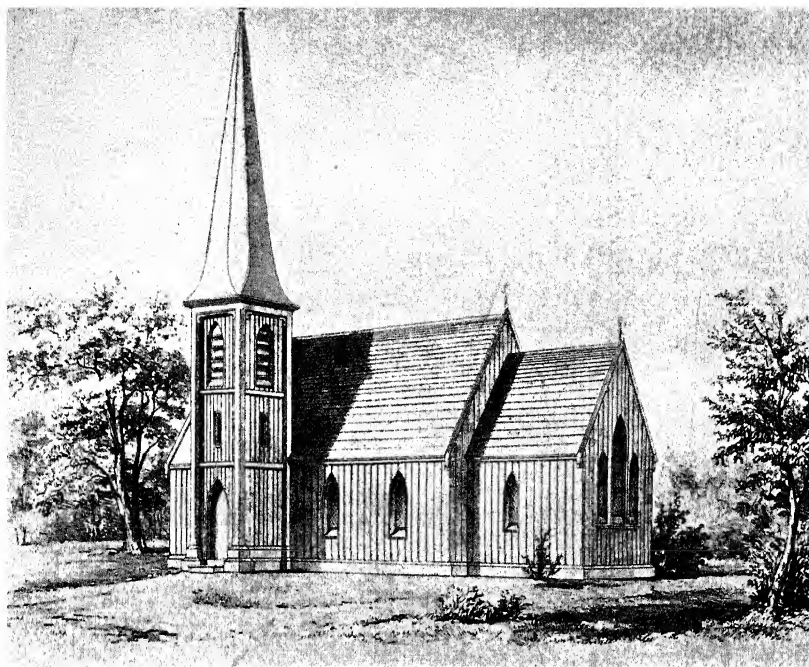


FIG. 68. COUNTRY CHURCH, DESIGN. 1852.

From *Upjohn's Rural Architecture*.

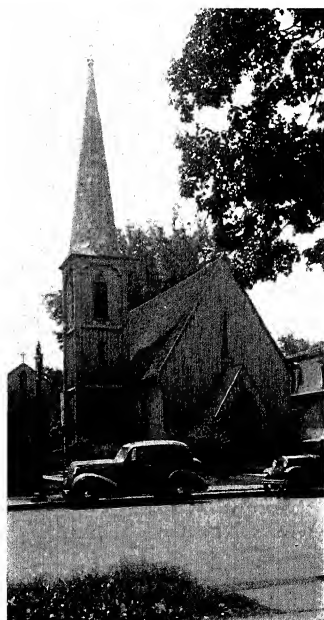


FIG. 69. TRINITY CHURCH, WARSAW, N. Y.
1854.

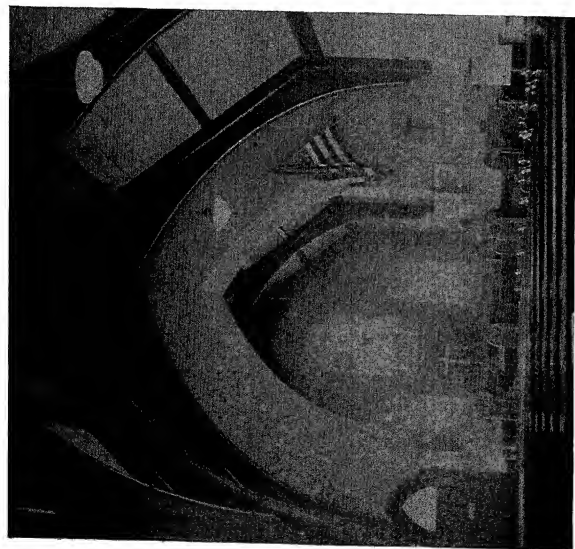


FIG. 70. TRINITY CHURCH, WARSAW, N. Y.
1854. INTERIOR.

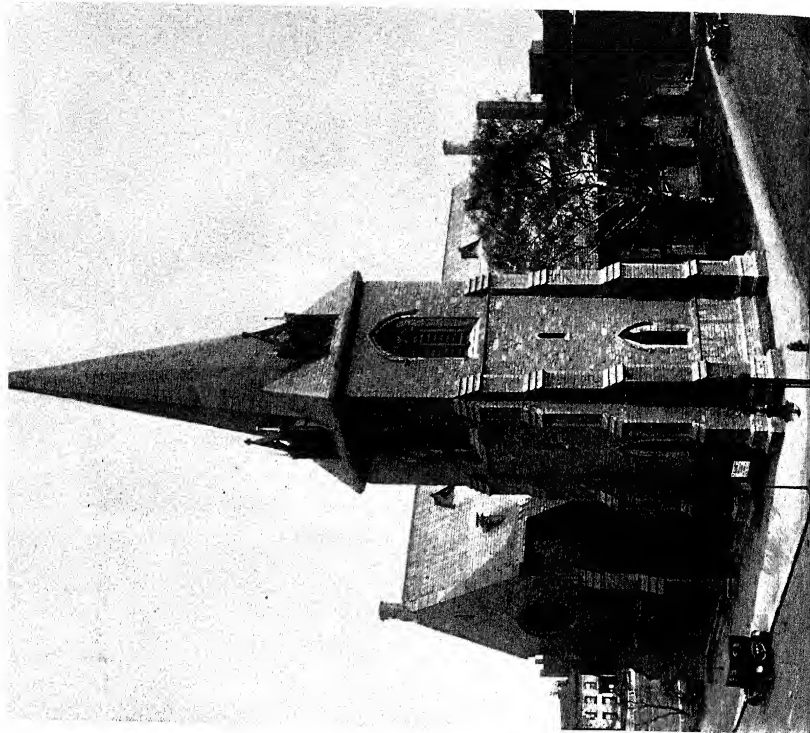


FIG. 71. THIRD PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, ROCHESTER,
N. Y. 1859.

John Henrich

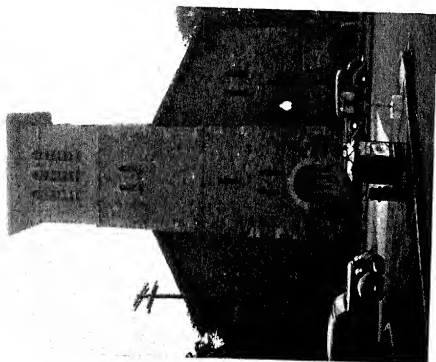
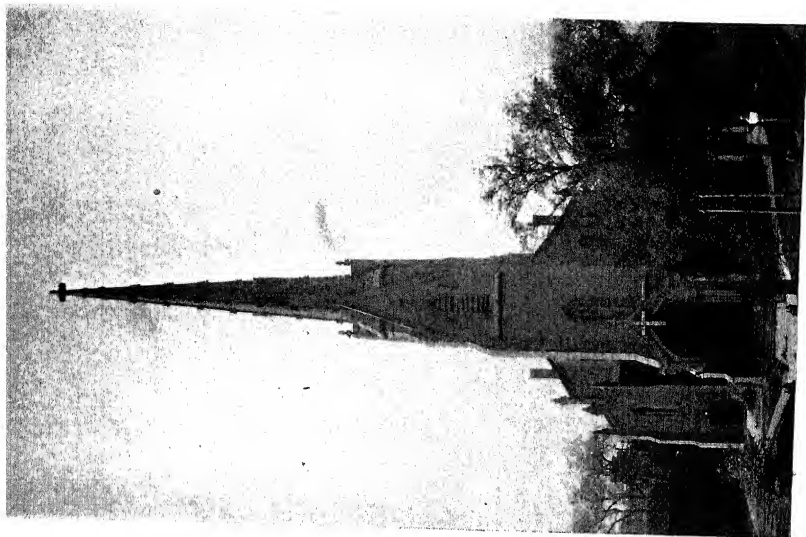


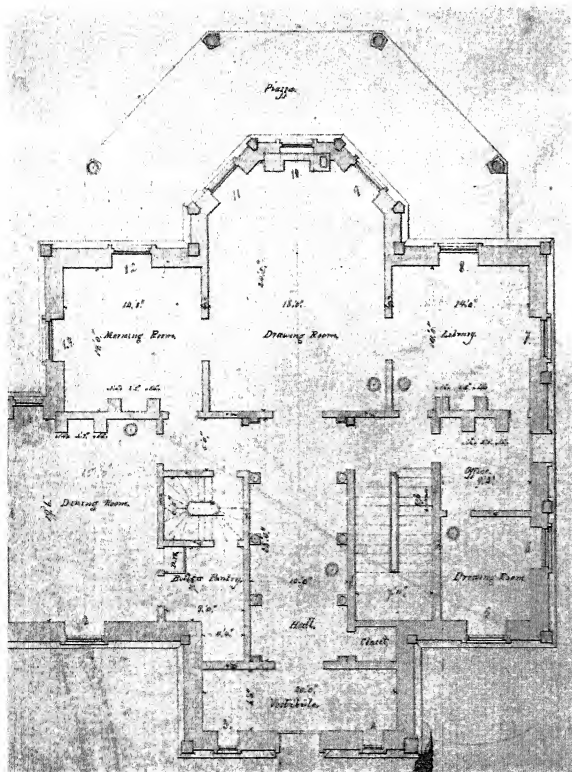
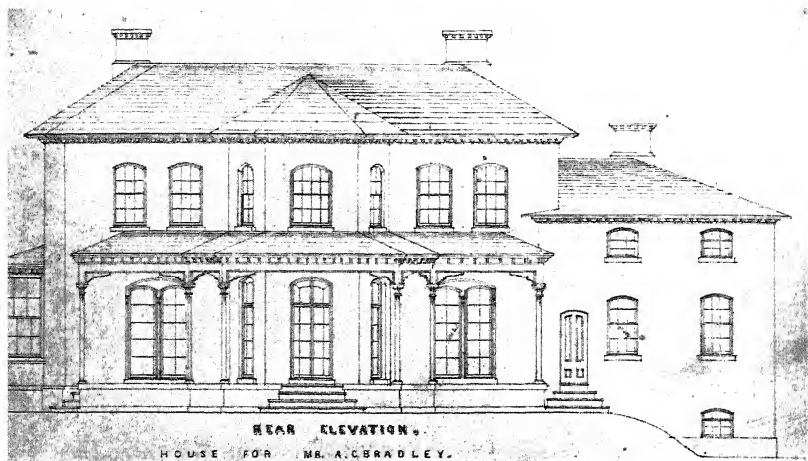
FIG. 72. TRINITARIAN CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH (CALLED BROADWAY CHURCH), TAUNTON, MASS. 1851-52.

FIG. 73. FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH, ROXBURY, MASS. 1852-53. BEFORE DESTRUCTION OF THE SPIRE IN 1935.

From an old photograph.

Clarke & Marks Co.





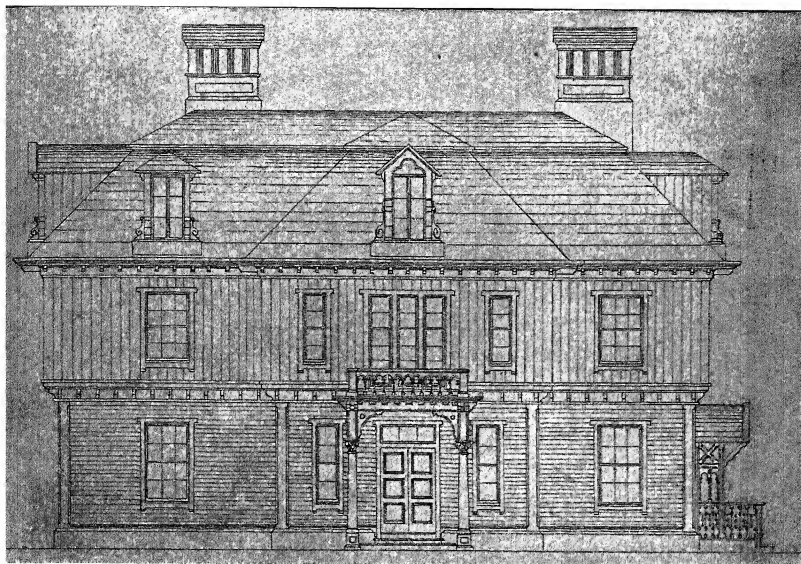


FIG. 76. GEORGE M. ATWATER HOUSE, SPRINGFIELD, MASS.
1854-55. ORIGINAL DRAWING, EAST ELEVATION.

FIG. 77. HAMILTON HOPPIN HOUSE, MIDDLETOWN, R. I. 1856-57.
ORIGINAL DRAWING, SOUTH ELEVATION.

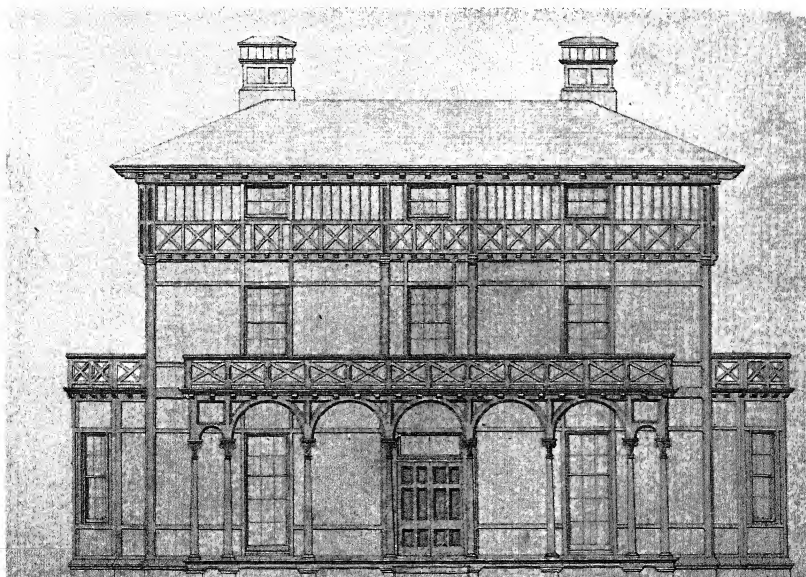


FIG. 78. J. J. JOHNSON HOUSE,
FLATBUSH, BROOKLYN. 1851-
54. ORIGINAL DRAWING, PLAN.

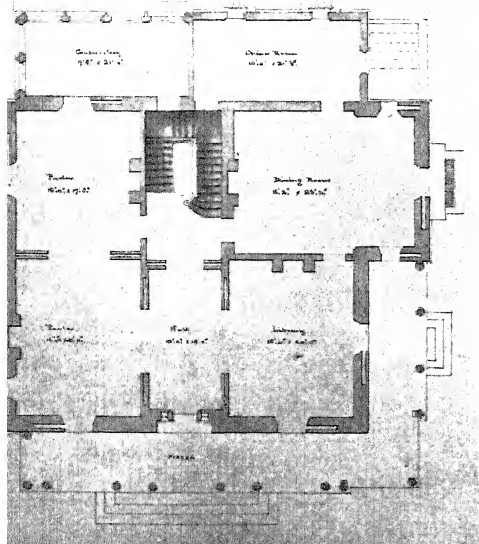
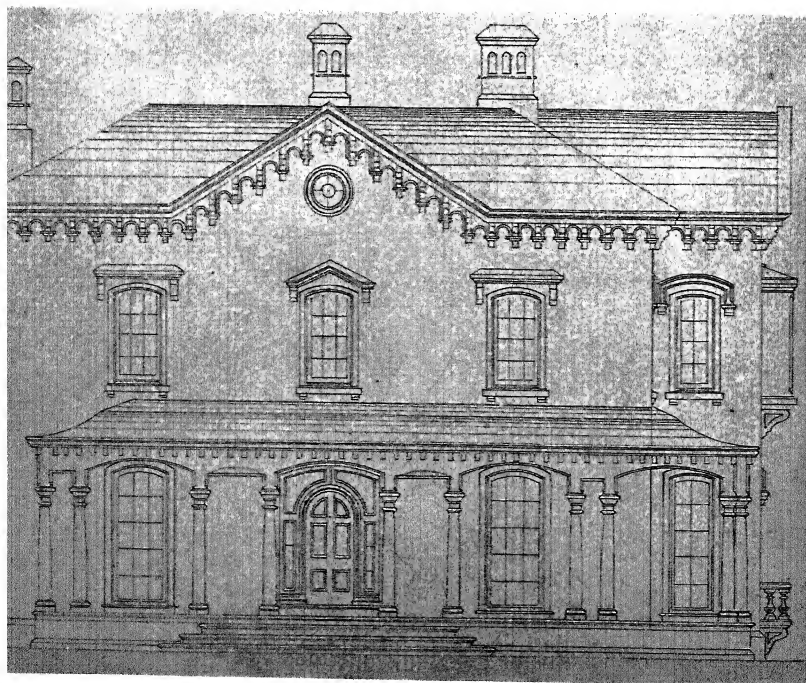


FIG. 79. J. J. JOHNSON HOUSE,
FLATBUSH, BROOKLYN. 1851-
54. ORIGINAL DRAWING, WEST
ELEVATION.



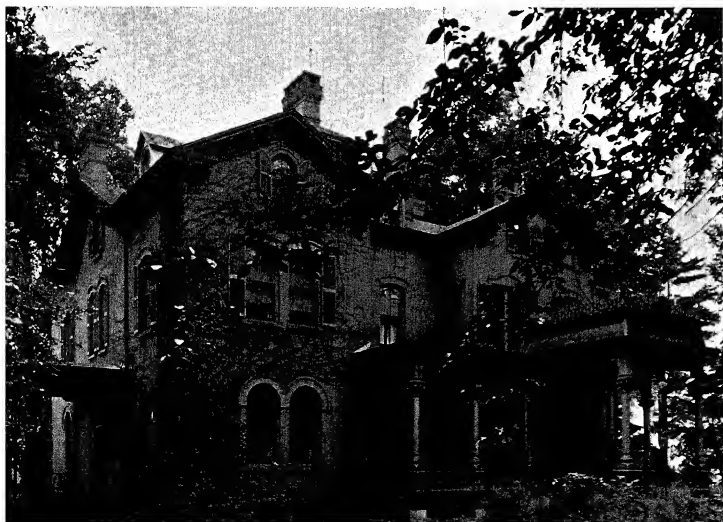


Kilson and Neumann

FIG. 80. C. ELY HOUSE, WEST SPRINGFIELD, MASS. 1852-54.

FIG. 81. JOHN STODDARD HOUSE, BRATTLEBORO, VT. 1853-56.

Lewis R. Brown



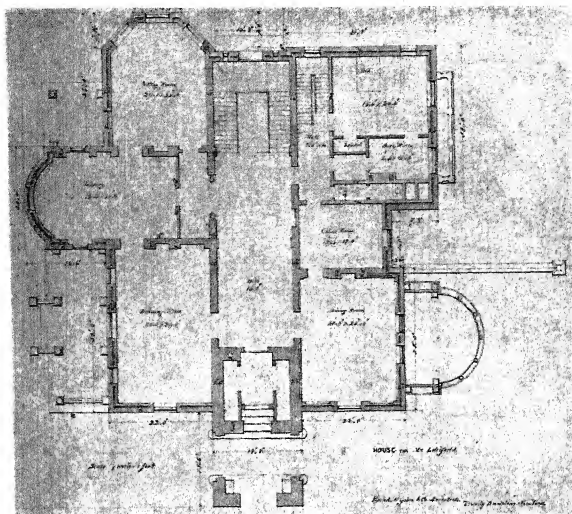
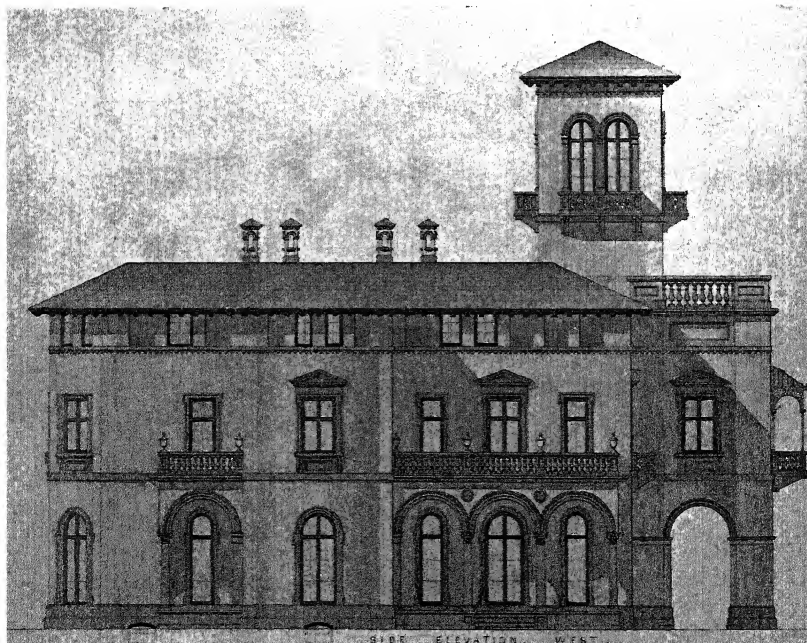


FIG. 82. E. B. LITCHFIELD HOUSE, BROOKLYN. 1855. ORIGINAL
DRAWING, PLAN.

FIG. 83. E. B. LITCHFIELD HOUSE, BROOKLYN. 1855. ORIGINAL
DRAWING, WEST ELEVATION.



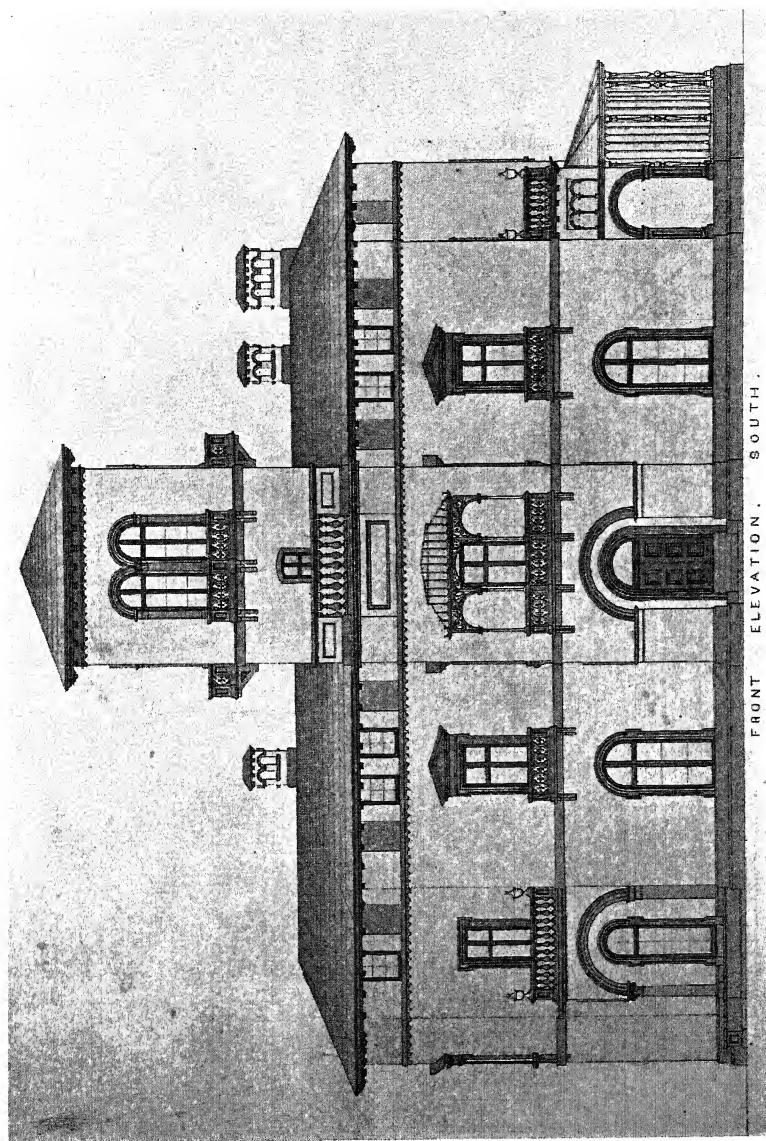


FIG. 84. E. B. LITCHFIELD HOUSE, BROOKLYN, 1855. ORIGINAL DRAWING, SOUTH ELEVATION.

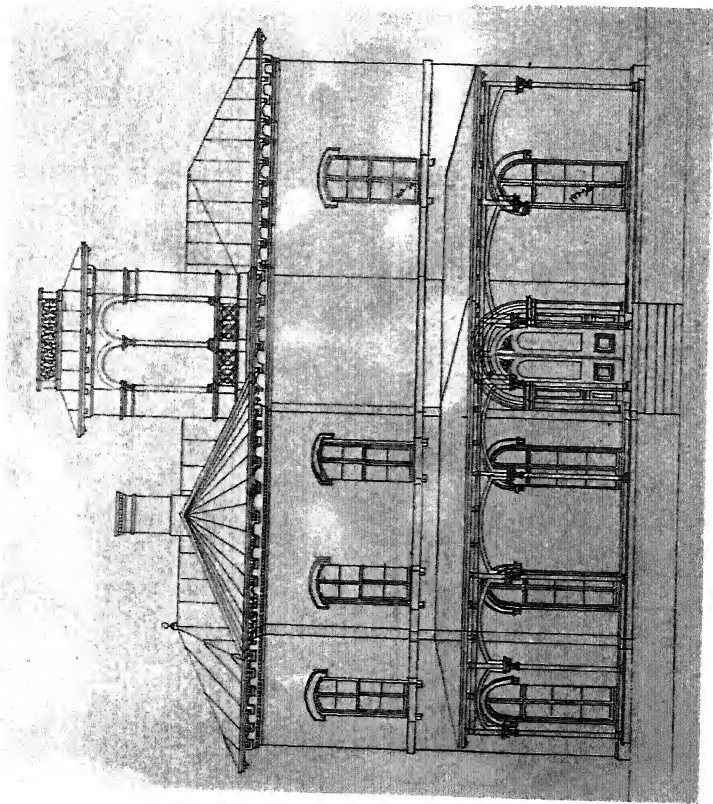


FIG. 85. A. M. EASTMAN HOUSE, MANCHESTER, N. H. 1856. ORIGINAL DRAWING.

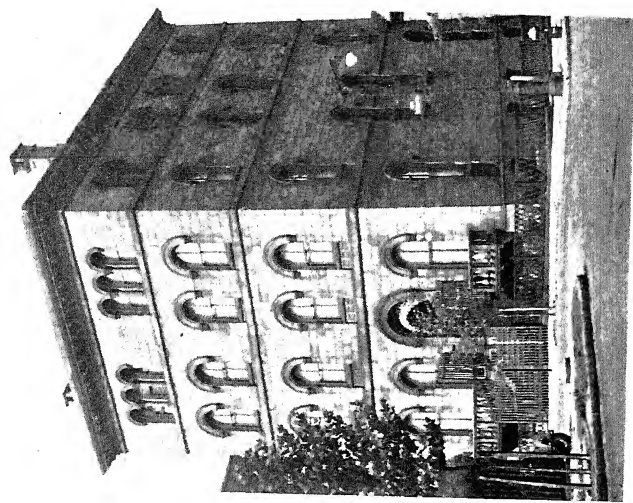
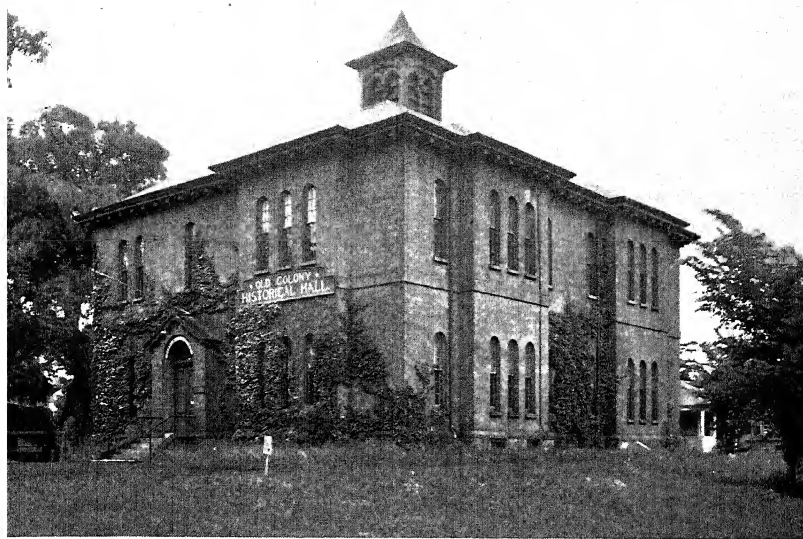


FIG. 86. HENRY E. PIERREPONT HOUSE, BROOKLYN, 1856-57.



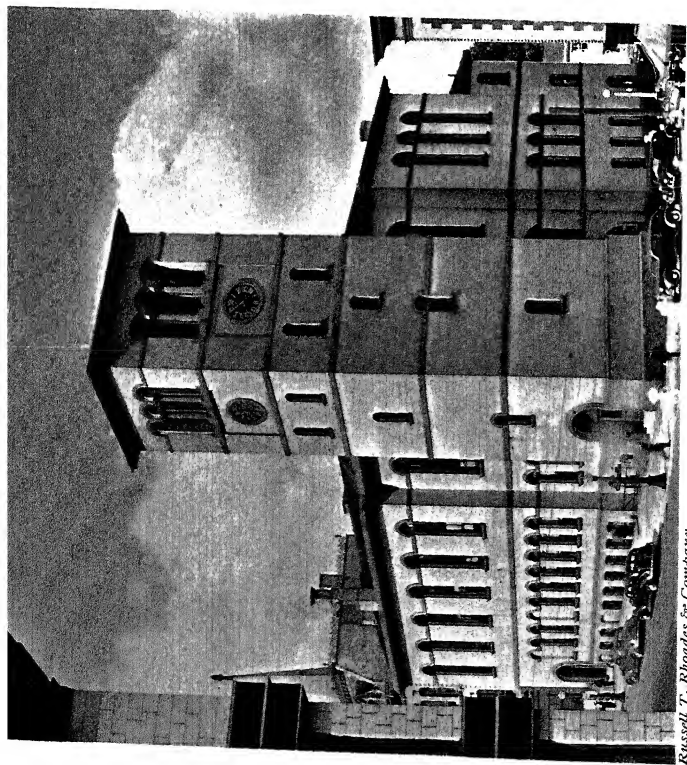
J. Carr

FIG. 87. TAUNTON ACADEMY, TAUNTON, MASS. 1852.



FIG. 88. BERWICK ACADEMY, SOUTH BERWICK, ME. 1852-53.

From an old photograph.



Russell T. Rhoades & Company

FIG. 89. CITY HALL, UTICA, N. Y. 1852-53.

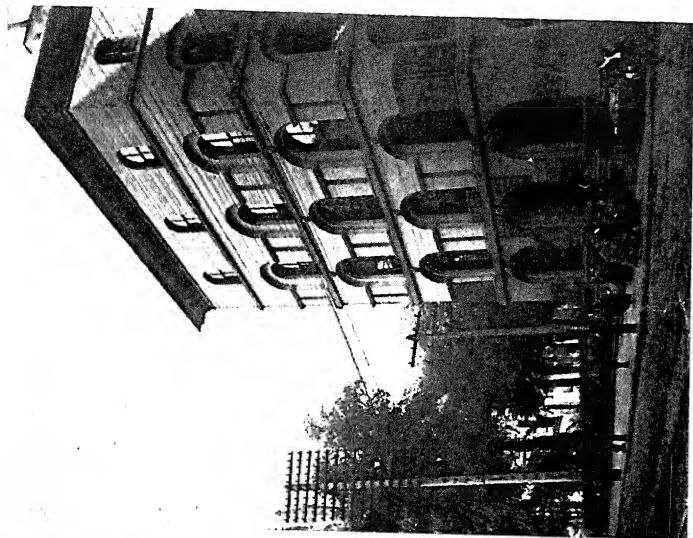
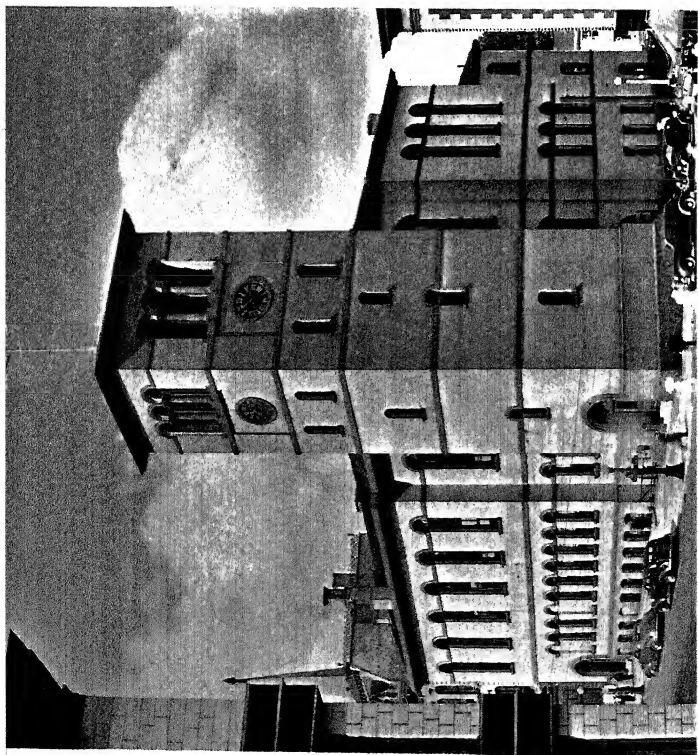


FIG. 90. TRINITY BUILDING, NEW YORK.
1851-52.

From an old photograph; courtesy of the
New York Public Library.



Russell T. Rhoades & Company

FIG. 89. CITY HALL, UTICA, N. Y. 1852-53.

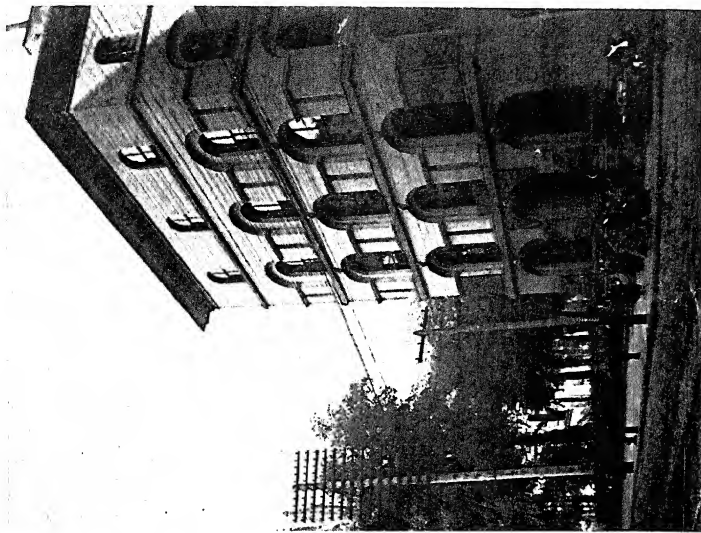


FIG. 90. TRINITY BUILDING, NEW YORK.
1851-52.

From an old photograph; courtesy of the
New York Public Library.

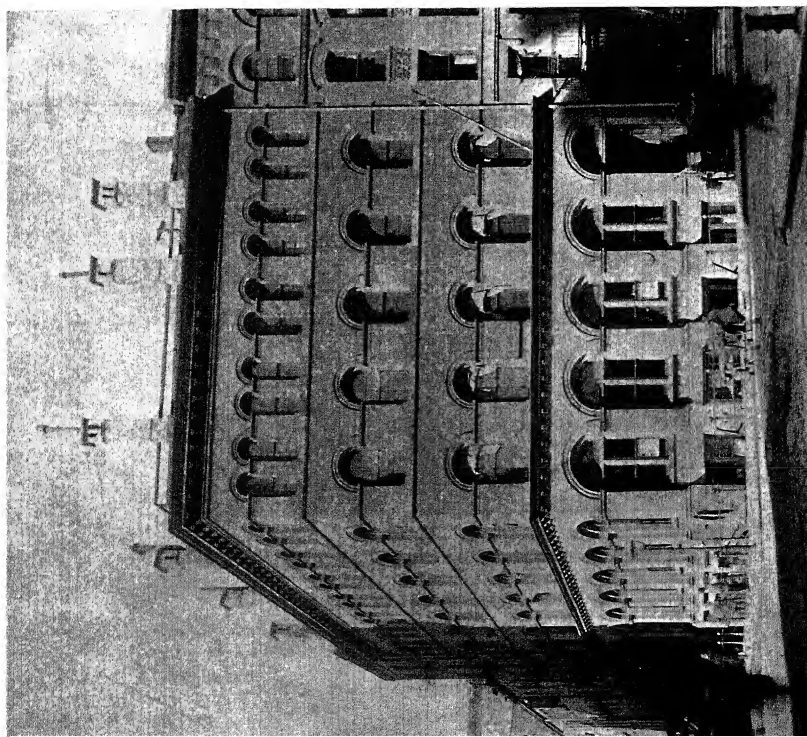


FIG. 91. CORN EXCHANGE BANK, NEW YORK. 1854.
From an old photograph.

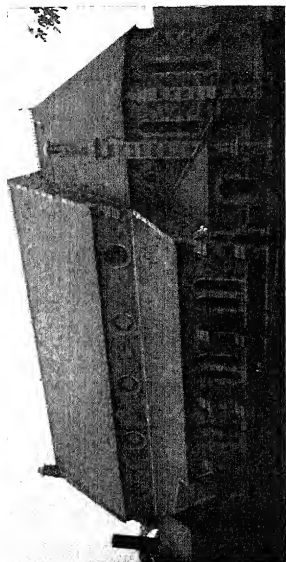


FIG. 92. ST. THOMAS'S CHURCH, TAUNTON, MASS.
1857-59.

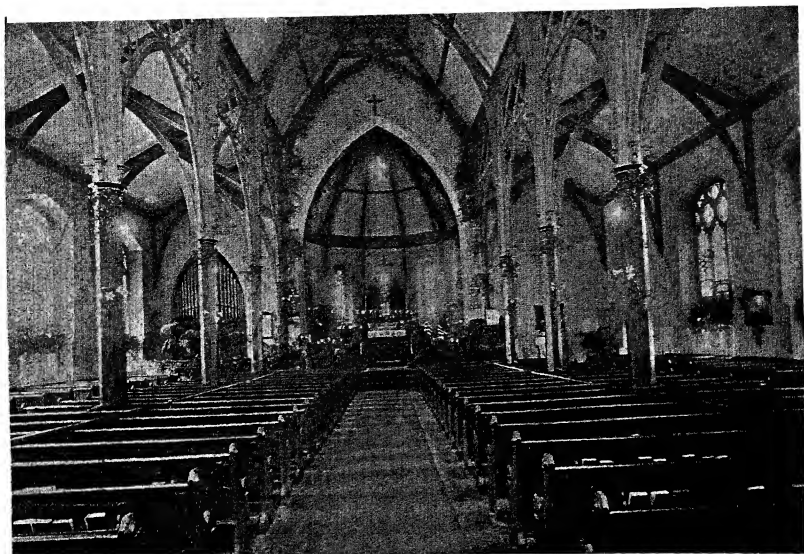


FIG. 93. ST. MARK'S CHURCH, SAN ANTONIO, TEX. 1859-81.
INTERIOR.

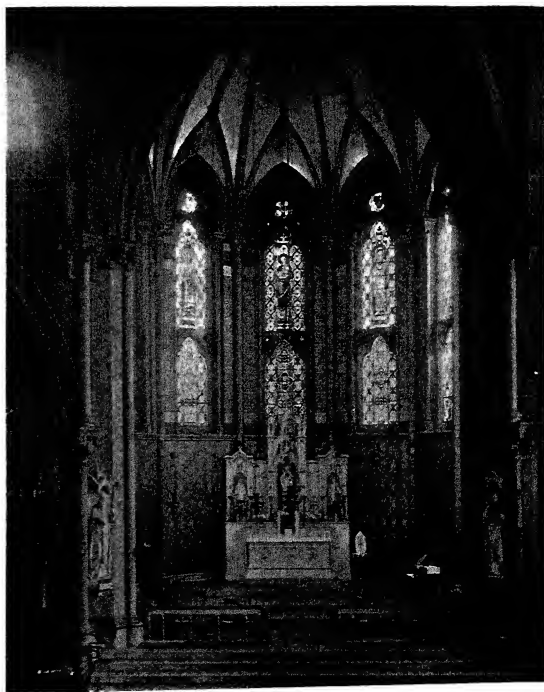


FIG. 94. ST. PAUL'S
CHURCH, BROOKLYN:
CHANCEL. 1859-60.

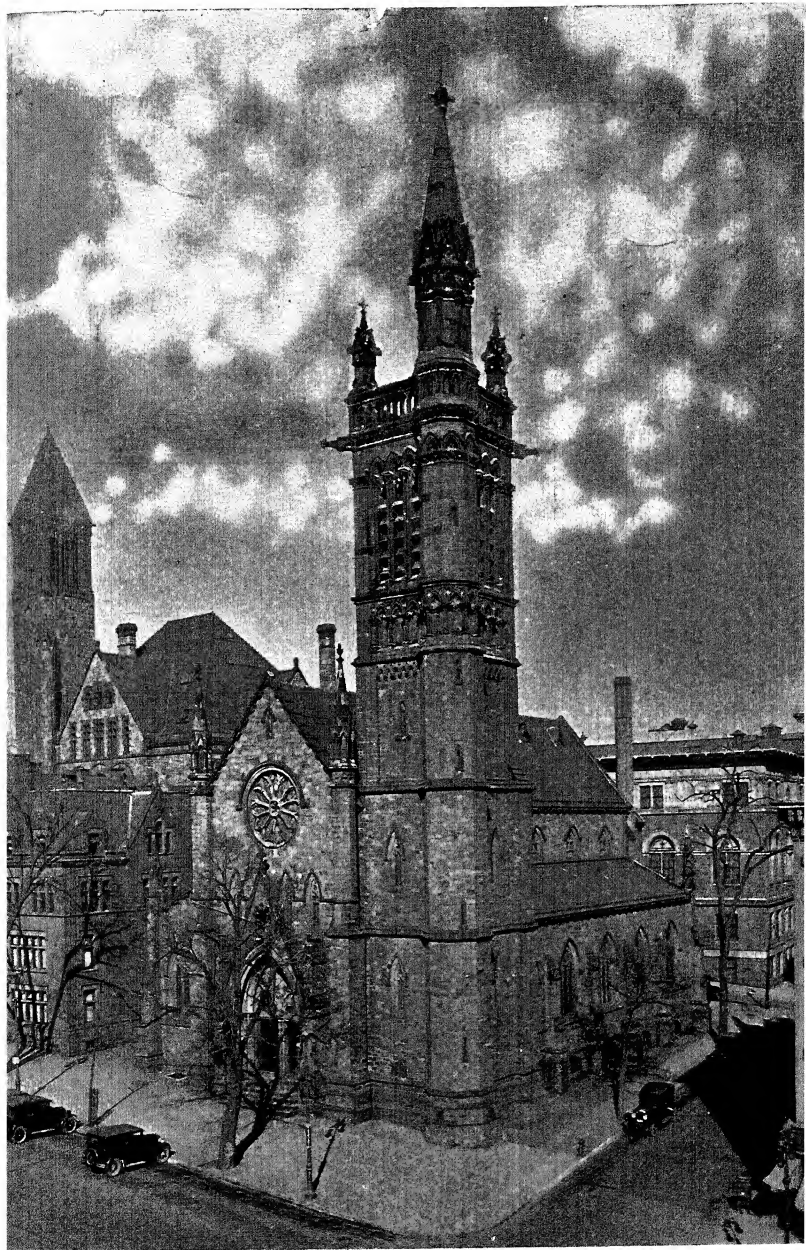


FIG. 95. ST. PETER'S CHURCH, ALBANY, 1859-60.

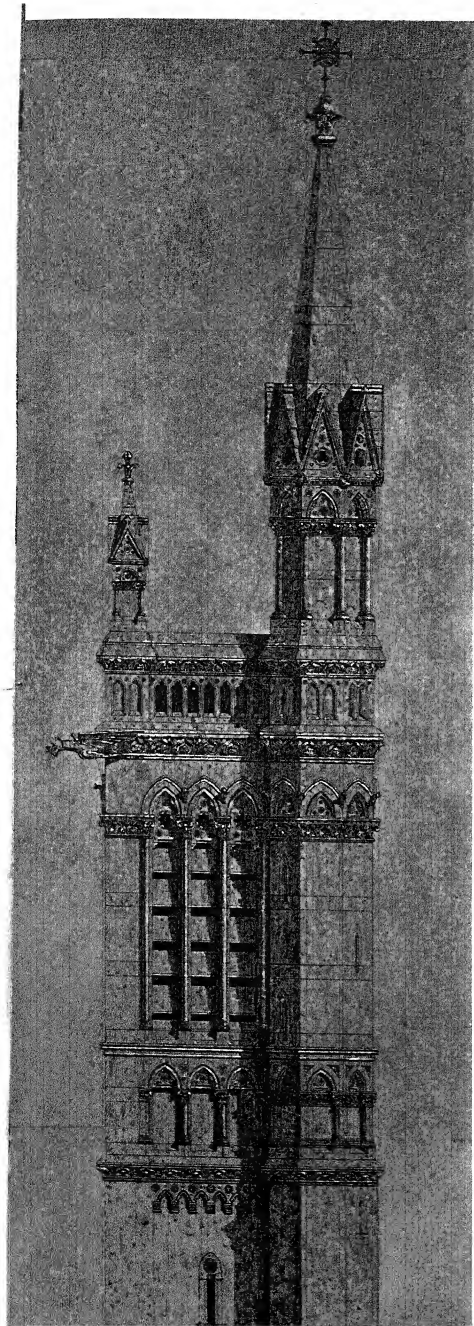


FIG. 97. GRACE CHURCH, MAN-
CHESTER, N. H. 1860.

FIG. 96. ST. PETER'S CHURCH,
ALBANY. 1859-60. TOWER, ORIG-
INAL DRAWING, 1876.

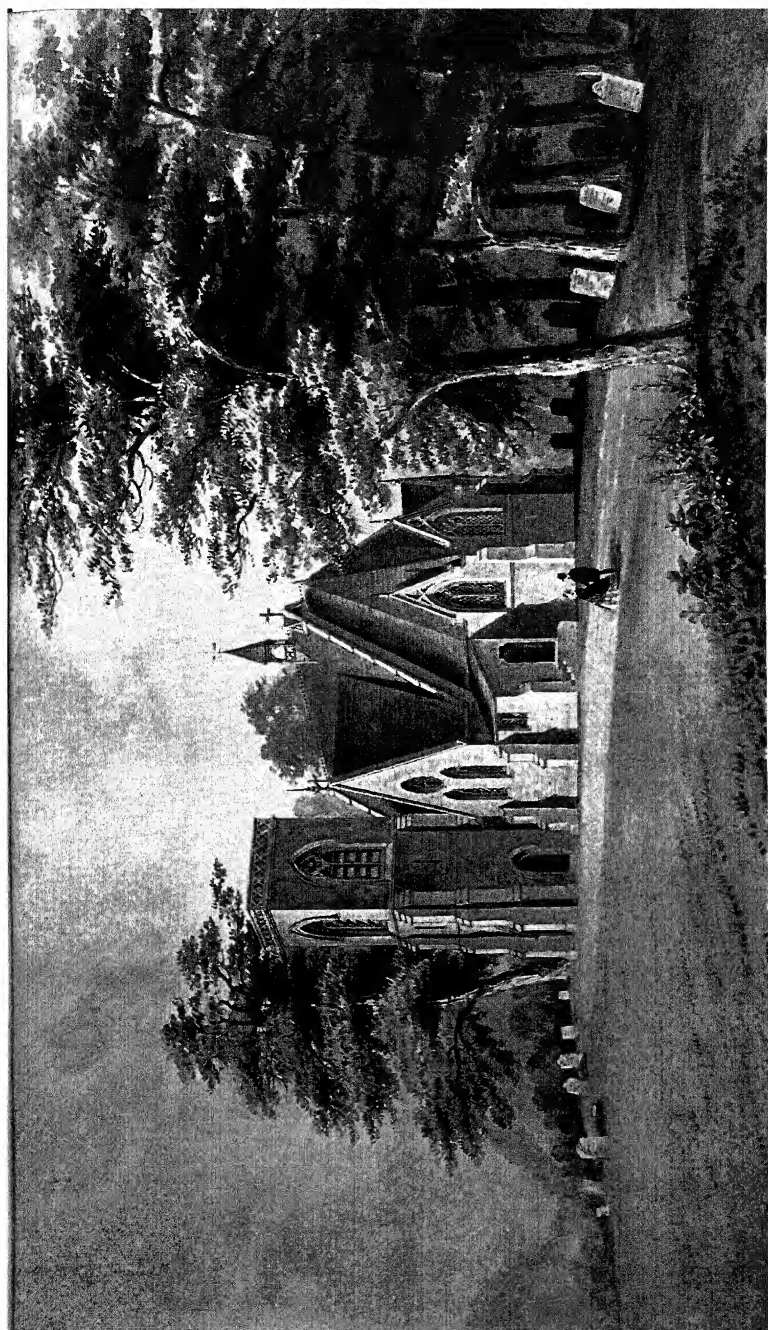


FIG. 98. ST. PHILIP'S IN THE HIGHLANDS, GARRISON, N. Y. 1861-62. ORIGINAL DRAWING.

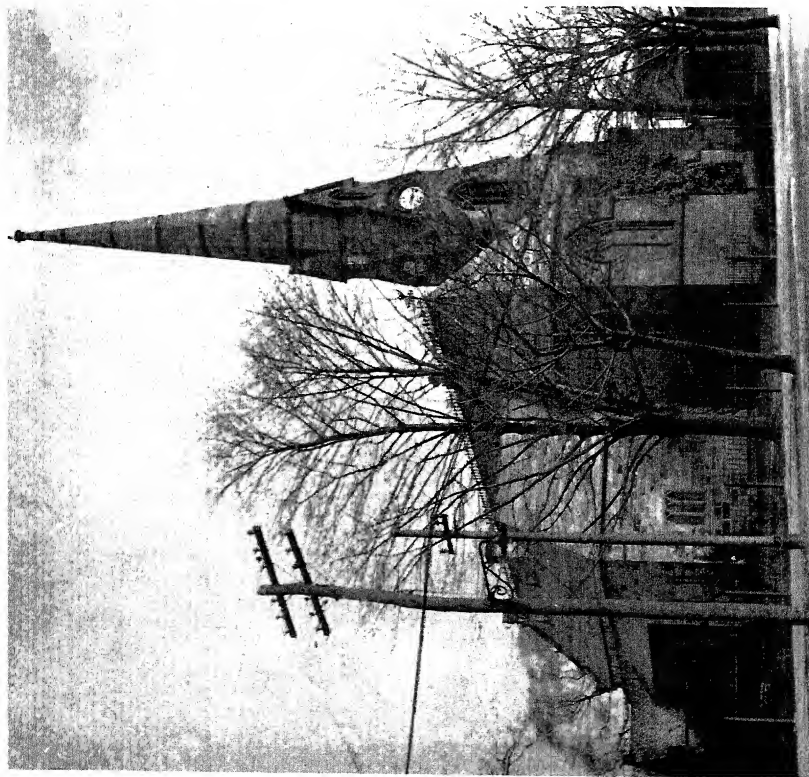


FIG. 100. ST. MARK'S CHURCH, MAUCH CHUNK,
PA. 1867-69.

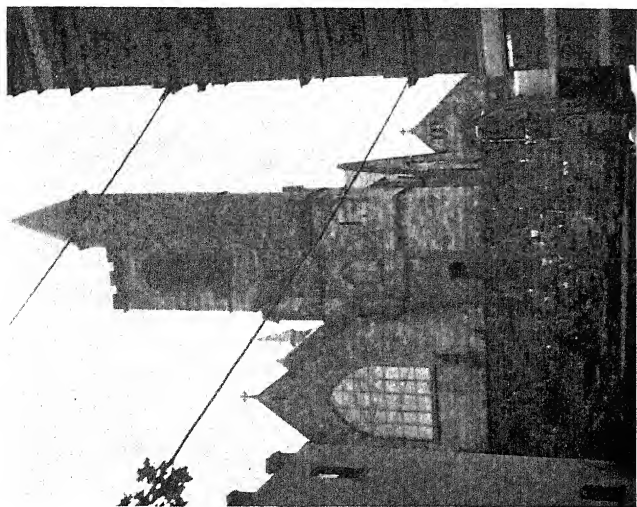
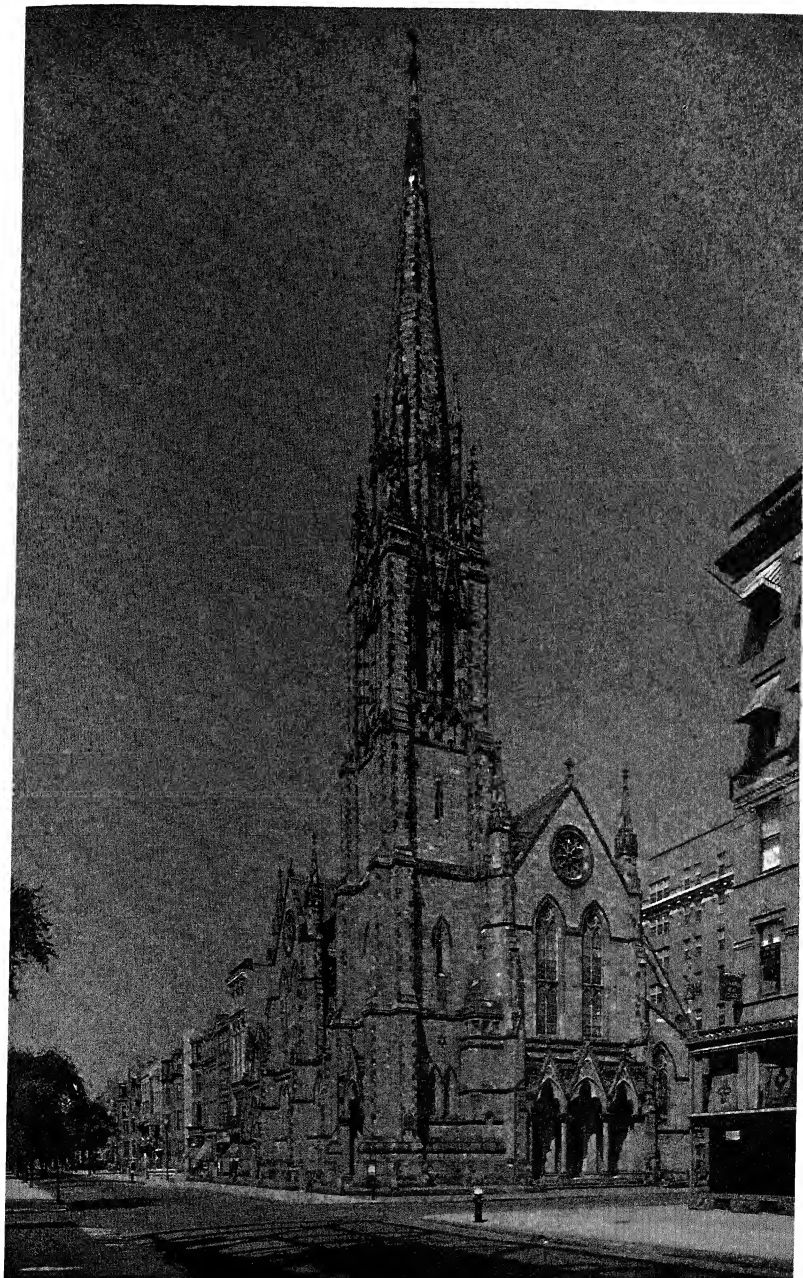


FIG. 99. TRINITY CHURCH, NEW ROCHELLE, N. Y.
1863.



Paul J. Weber

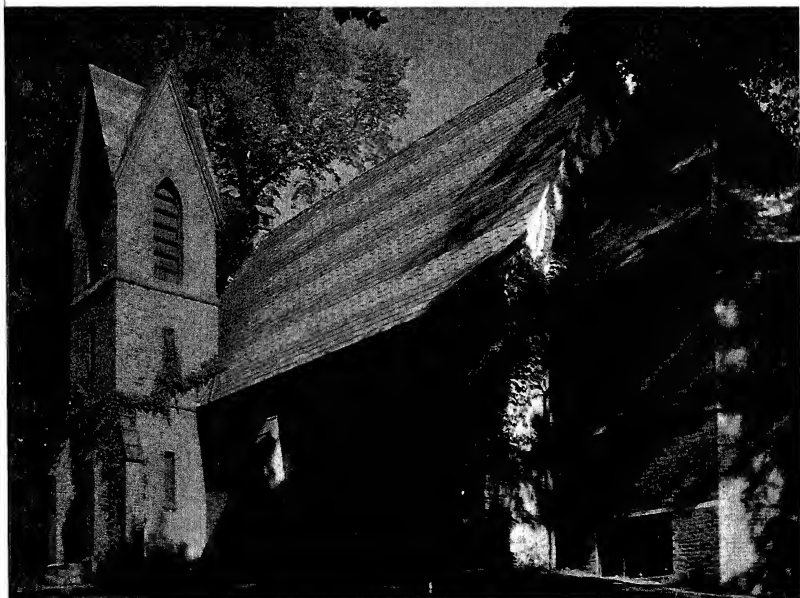
FIG. 101. CENTRAL CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, BOSTON. 1865-67.



FIG. 102. ST. THOMAS'S CHURCH, NEW YORK. 1868-70.
From an old photograph.



FIG. 103. ST. THOMAS'S CHURCH, NEW YORK. 1868-70. INTERIOR.
From an old photograph.



Febbs & Knell, Inc.

FIG. 104. CHRIST CHURCH, MARLBOROUGH, N. Y. 1858.

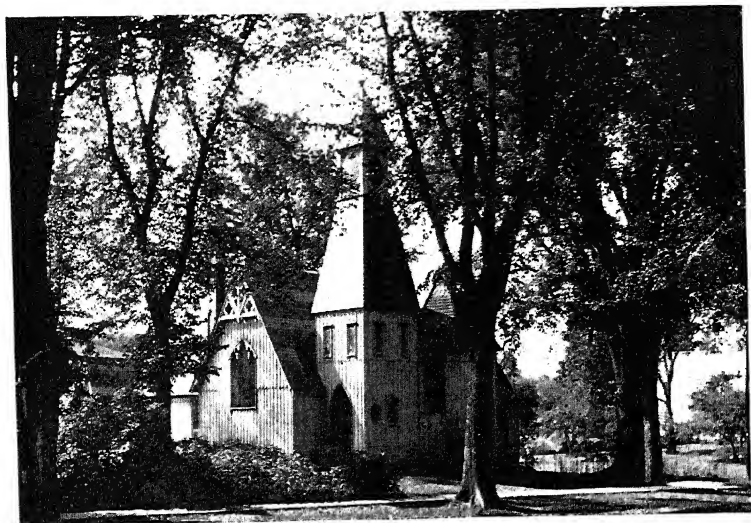


FIG. 105. ST. LUKE'S CHURCH, CHARLESTOWN, N. H. 1863. ENLARGED, 1869.



FIG. 106. CHURCH OF THE HOLY COMFORTER, ELTINGVILLE, STATEN ISLAND, N. Y. 1865.

From an old engraving.

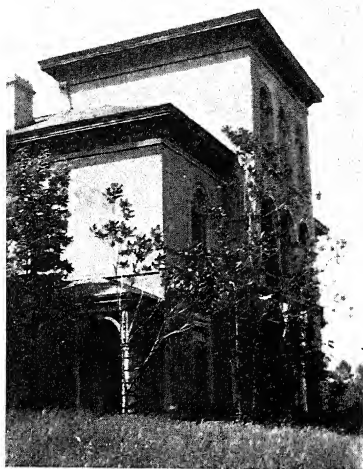
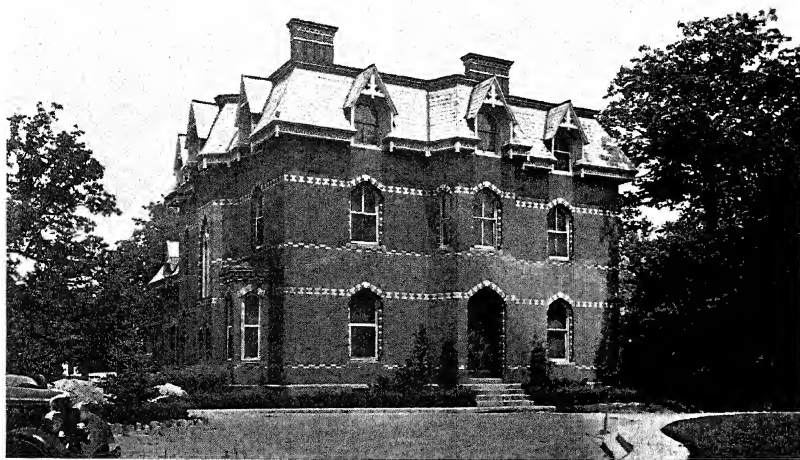


FIG. 107. "CLIFTON," S. ZIMMERMAN HOUSE, NIAGARA FALLS, ONT., CAN. 1855-60.



H. B. Tuttle

FIG. 108. W. B. DOUGLAS HOUSE, GENEVA, N. Y. 1861-63. NOW BLACKWELL HOUSE, WILLIAM SMITH COLLEGE.

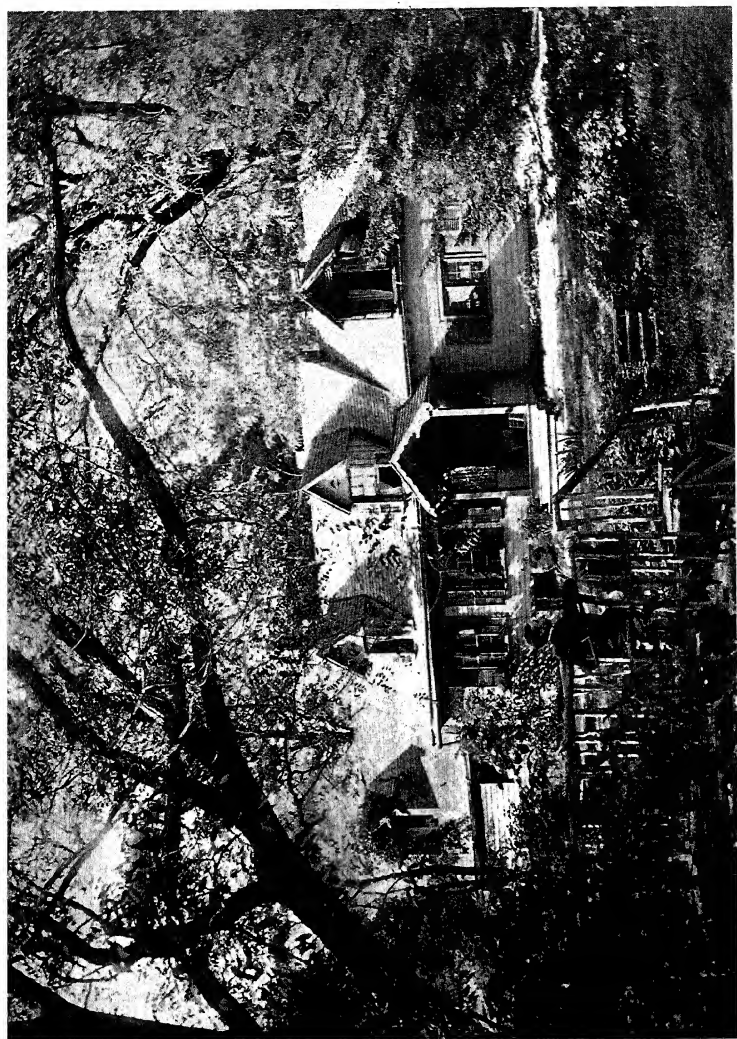


FIG. 109. RICHARD UPJOHN HOUSE, GARRISON, N. Y.: ALTERATIONS, 1852-78.
From an old photograph.

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C. BOOKS

NOTE: This section contains only general books dealing with the work or the life of Richard Upjohn or otherwise directly pertaining to the present

study. It does not include general bibliographical material on the Gothic Revival. Books and pamphlets referring to specific Upjohn buildings are listed in the Appendix, by place, under the building concerned.

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